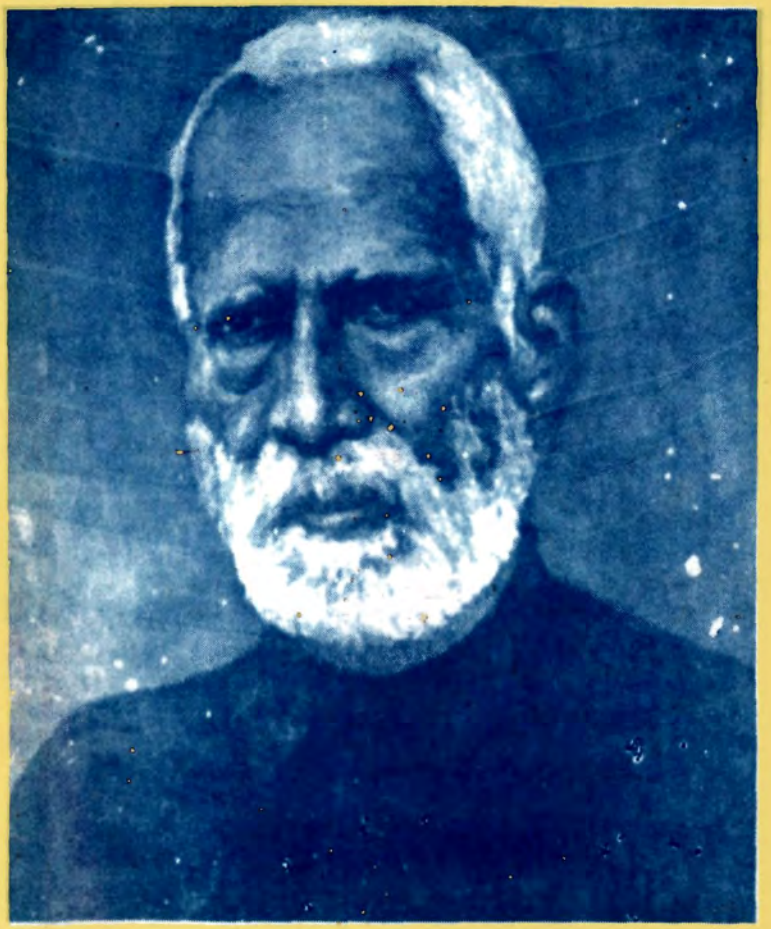
Madhusudan Das :
His Life and Achievements



PRAGATI UTKAL SANGHA
ROURKELA

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MADHUSUDAN DAS

His Life and Achievements

Editor :
Debendra Kumar Dash

PRAGATI UTKAL SANGHA
Rourkela

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MADHUSUDAN DAS : HIS LIFE & ACHIEVEMENTS

Debendra Kumar Dash
Editor

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Madhusudan Das : His Life and Achievements has only three objectives in view :*(i)* to present source materials on the life and works of Madhusudan Das; *(ii)* to have an objective evaluation of his personality and contributions; *(iii)* not to succumb to the hagiographical tradition while writing on the life and works of Madhusudan. To fulfil these objectives the book has been divided in two parts.

Part-1 of the present volume is a reprint of the book *Madhusudan Das As Seen By Many Eyes* compiled by Miss Shoila Bala Das with some alterations. Brief assessments/comments by seven eminent persons have been placed in appendices added by me.This is a companion volume to ***Madhusudan Das: The Man and His Missions*** edited by me. In the Part-II of the said book, the reminiscenes and biographical sketches, written by persons closely associated with Madhusudan, had been placed. The **Part-I** of the present volume is an extension of the Part-II of that book.

Biography of a man cannot be written from the records only. The biographical sketches and reminiscenes included in this book though subjective in nature, fill up the gaps and bring out the inner side of the personality under review. So the reminiscences compiled by Shoila Bala, which had not been previously printed, have been placed in **Part-I**. To make a comprehensive view of the man,comments/biographical sketches written by Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi and others have been published in the brief assessments/comments in the **Appendices**. The sources, from which such comments/sketches have been collected, have been indicated in the brief notes in the beginning.

In the **Part-II**, twelve essays written by nine scholar have been compiled. Most of these papers were previously published in the souvenirs, annually published by Pragati Utkal Sangha, Rourkela. The paper of Prof. Surendra Nath Jena was previously printed in the ***Research Journal of Sambalpur University***. By his permission, it is reprinted here. All the papers have been edited to suit the requirements of the present volume.

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Pragati Utkal Sangha, Rourkela, deserves all the credit and compliments for publishing this book. Being a socio-cultural organisation, it has taken efforts to publish books like *Madhusudan Das – The Legislator, Madhusudan Das : The Man and His Missions* and other books in oriya language. I compliment the missionary efforts of the members of this organisation. I am also thankful to its office-bearers, for providing me the opportunity to edit this volume.

The proposal and inspiration to publish such a volume, came from Acharya Bhabananda (Bhubaneswar), a Gandhian thinker and reputed scholar, and Mr. Surasinha Pattanayak (Berhampur), a Madhusudan-devotee. Both of them have also helped me in many ways whenever I have sought their assistance. Only thanks will not do justice to them. Sricharan Mohanty, the Vice-president of Pragati Utkal Sangha, has helped me at every stage of this publication. I extend my heartiest thanks to all of them.

As mentioned before, most of the papers included in **Part-II**, are reprinted from the annual souvenirs of Pragati Utkal Sangha edited by Nabin Kumar Sahoo, Prabodh Kumar Mishra and Sricharan Mohanty in different years. I express my obligation to them. I also thank the scholars who have ungrudgingly permitted me to use their papers in this book.

Madhusudan Das : His Life and Achievements was planned and partially printed in the year 1999. It is after a gap of three years, the book could only be completed and published. For this delay, I apologise to all my well-wishers and readers. Moreover, this book may not be free from errors. I request the readers to kindly excuse me for such inadvertent errors which may be there.

Lastly, I am thankful to my wife Geetanjali Dash for her support and Kumarika, Gangotri and Shankar Prasad Mishra for type-setting and Tapan Kumar Mohapatra for printing.

Rourkela
28.4.2002

Debendra Kumar Dash

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Part – I

Madhusudan Das
As
Seen By Many Eyes

Compiled by
Shoila Bala Das
[With Appendices added by the present Editor]

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PREFACE

Twenty one years ago on 4th February 1934, my father Madhusudan Das died. Many of his friends and high officials, and non-officials, Indians and Europeans sent their condolence messages to me. I asked them to send me some reminiscences about my father. Everyone of them sent as they knew him. For various reasons I have not been able to publish them in a book. At this distant date at the age of 81 when I can hardly use my eyes, I wish to publish these reminiscences and I regret to say that I have mislaid some of the reminiscences and I apologise to those friends whose appreciative articles I have lost.

The reminiscences with all their own tale of what Madhusudan was and what he had. Many of the writers are no more. They too have gone to the land where Madhusudan is. Owing to my illness and defective sight, I left the manuscript to a friend who promised to see to its publication properly, but unfortunately he has not done it and the book is not published to my liking. However I hope my readers will be interested in the subject matter contributed by various friends who knew Madhusudan.

Shoila Bala Das

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I

REMINISCENCE OF GREAT POLITICAL LEADERS

(1)

A TRIBUTE OF LOVE AND RESPECT

RAJENDRA PRASAD

I first met Mr. M. S. Das when he came to preside over the Bihar Students' Conference which was held at Motihari in the year 1912. We travelled together on our way to Champaran and the conversation I had with him in the train and on the steamer left an indelible impression on my mind about his personality, intellectual depth, fearlessness and love and devotion to country. In a long life full of varied activity he was ever striving to serve the people and as he told me, although he ruined himself financially he never sent his hat round for public help. It was a matter of deep regret that the Utkal Tannery on which he spent so much and to which he was so much attached as a child of his creation could not prosper on account of lack of financial support. His public career commenced long before men like me were born and he always struck an original line of his own. I remember how when as a minister he was on a visit to Chhapra and learning that I was ill he came to see me and how by the mere touch of his soft fingers I felt a sort of relief. Just towards the end of his all too brief ministerial career he told me that he had done his best to give a liberal Local Self-Government Act to the province but he was afraid there were forces acting against it and we should be on our guard to see that no tampering with the popular rights contained in it was allowed or tolerated by the public. He was not afraid to speak and do the right regardless of consequences and every one knows what hard times awaited him towards the evening of his days when he had to carry on practice at the Bar at an age which is rarely reached by men in this country and which hardly ever turns out to be an active period in the life of any man. But he faced it, and faced it boldly and well.

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(2)

A BRIEF NOTE ON MADHUSUDAN

ACHARYA P. C. ROY

Mr. M. S. Das had many sided activities and there are many competent authorities to speak about them; but I shall confine myself to only one side of them viz. the one which has been the obsession of my life.

The first time I came across him was some thirty years ago, when I was invited by the then Director of Public Instruction Mr. Archsdale Earle (afterwards Sir) to deliver a course of lectures to Junior Teachers in Cuttack.

Mr. Das very kindly invited me to see his Art School and I availed myself of the opportunity to see his well-known 'Orissa Art Wares' which was then languishing for want of adequate public support. He had organised a workshop where nearly 100 men were engaged in the craft, specially the delicate gold and silver filigree works for which Cuttack was famous at one time. Mr. Das seemed to wax eloquent over the possibilities of the delicate arts which had been in vogue from time immemorial, but for want of support was almost dead. He spent quite a fortune out of his own purse for the resuscitation of the lost glories.

The next time I met him was when I visited Cuttack in 1924, as the President of the Utkal Provincial Congress Conference. This time too Mr. Das invited me to visit his Utkal Tannery, which he had established on about 40 acres of land near Cuttack Station, and in which he had also invested a very considerable sum of money of his own. Unfortunately he did not get much response from local public. It is one of the drawbacks incidental to the cause of Industry in this country that those who have been foremost in starting industries have been as a rule (in Bengal and Orissa) lawyers, doctors etc. The most essential thing requisite in business affairs is previous training at an early age in them.

It has been found that in England as in America, some of the foremost of businessmen and industrialists have risen from the ranks who are innocent even of secondary education not to speak of

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University. Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford and Eastman (of Kodak) had not I'm afraid, even the benefit of secondary education. In England William Harcott Lever, Sir Thomas Lipton in fact almost all the founders of big business houses were innocent of University Education.

But in our unfortunate country those who have got ideals and enterprise are generally men of high culture and education and they labour under a serious disadvantage when they have got to give a practical shape to their ideas and so often we have to witness tragedies. I need not here pause to relate the stories of failure in undertakings started under such auspices; but this is no reason why one should sit idle with folded hands. 'Failures are the precursors of success for future generations'. I have myself burnt my fingers over one or two undertakings but I have never been dejected rather spurred to greater activities by such temporary set-backs.

If the new generation which has sprung up since the demise of Mr. Das, taken up the cue and builds on the foundation laid by him at enormous sacrifice to himself, the future of Orissa will turn into a much brighter, happier and more prosperous one specially with the advent of the new Province, which, too, owes its creation to Mr. Das.

Mr. Das had realised at a time when our country men had no such awakening that unless we could revive and create new industries, there will be no economic salvation for our people who are solely dependent on uncertain agricultural pursuits.

I shall now conclude with one word – viz. that Mr. Das died a martyr to the cause of Industry and to the uplift of his countrymen.

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II

REMINISCENCE OF HIGHCOURT JUDGES

(1)
A PRACTICAL POLITICIAN

MANMATHA NATH MUKERJEE

When the history of Modern Orissa comes to be written the name to which the greatest prominence will be given will be that of Mr. Madhusudan Das. To him primarily and secondarily to the band of other patriots who came in his wake, that she owes her gradual rise and her present position as a unit of the Indian Federation. And for this the credit goes in small measure to the province of Bengal, for Mr. Madhusudan Das received no inconsiderable part of his early training in that province at a time when that province was at the height of her glory, those were days of which rightly has it been said that "what Bengal thinks today, the rest of India will think tomorrow".

It was some twenty years or a little more that I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Madhusudan Das for the first time. I have a vivid recollection of the place and the hour of that meeting. It was at a time when his Utkal Tannery had received a terrible blow and when, though shattered physically as well as financially, he had made up his mind to take courage in both hands and work with the ardour of youth for rehabilitating his favourite venture on which he had pinned his faith. For an hour or so we discussed matters and at the end of the discussion the impression that he left on my mind was that he was a personality far above the ordinary. Since then we met off and on; and every time I saw him, my respect and admiration for him grew more and more. Today, when writing these few lines I feel that men of his stamp and stamina are rare indeed.

I have always thought that he was the first in point of time to rise head and shoulder over others to realise that it is idle to trade in mere past glories and to visualise that the rebirth of Orissa could only be achieved by effecting improvement in her material welfare. He was not a visionary but a practical politician, – one who had faith in the justness of the causes he advocated and believed in the lessons

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that history of nations teaches us, namely, that persistent efforts in the furtherance of a righteous cause, if pursued with ardour, sincerity and selflessness, are bound to lead to success. He believed that for a nation to prosper, more depends on inspiration and endeavours from within than assistance from outside.

Mr. Das was a politician and patriot of what may be described as the old school – a splendid galaxy of men who were determined to raise India from the stupor under which she lay for centuries, pursuing methods which they thought were sound and rational. His principle may not have all found favour with latter-day public men, but his sincerity was transparent, energy indomitable and determination firm. Those who differed from his views had no less regard for him than for others who shared their own views. He was always prepared to look at matters from the viewpoints of others with whom he differed and, with a courage born of consciousness of the fact that human judgment is often liable to err, would change his own angle of vision and alter his decision should he come to find that he had been wrong. His advice was regarded as ripe, sound and reliable and used to be sought for even by those who belonged to his province but by men of other provinces as well. He was a good speaker and a powerful writer.

When the constitution of 1919 came into being Mr. Madhusudan Das, as the recognised leader of the Oriya community, was appointed to the responsible post of Minister to the Government of Bihar and Orissa with the portfolio of Local Self-Government and Public Works. The position was one to which his claims were unrivalled, and which would not have suited anybody else so well. His experience in the arena of politics, his achievements in the then Bengal council, his work in the Senate of the Calcutta University and the services that he had rendered to the country in the cause of a long and eventful life stood him now in good stead in his new field of activities. Though well advanced in years he threw himself into the task with an unparalleled enthusiasm – a zeal and vigour of which many a young man may be proud– and did his work with care, circumspection and thoroughness.

Lives of great men teach us how to live and to work. Mr. Das's life is certainly a lesson which may be read with pleasure and with profit.

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(2)

THE LATE MR. MADHUSUDAN DAS

DEVAPRASAD SARBADHIKARI

Mr. Madhusudan Das has been considered on all hands as the grand old man of Cuttack, nay Orissa, in modern times and may well be considered and called as such,. Though a Christian, he enjoyed the confidence and commanded the respect of all sections of the community and was the trusted adviser and confidant of leading landowners of Orissa and rulers of Garjat States. He was a pioneer in education and industry and led the van of Oriya culture which has brought it to its present stage of progress and is promising it a glorious rebirth as a self-contained province in the drawing Spacious Times.

The pity of it is that Mr. Madhusudan Das, who has steadily and steadfastly assisted in the building up of the new era had not been spared to visualise the fruition and culmination of the developing process. He died literally in harness and worked for his dearly beloved province with his last breath.

I knew him well and knew him long and esteemed him well. We were thrown together a good deal when we sat together in the then Bengal Council under the presidency of Sir Andrew Fraser, Sir Edward Baker and all who ruled the province till the Governorship came. We fought shoulder to shoulder, sometimes hand to hand, but were always good friends. The saving grace of humour often saved the situation, and good feelings and good fellowships always prevailed.

Mr. Das for a time represented his province on the Senate of the Calcutta University, where also we collaborated together. He accepted my vision of akinness, of affinity between Oriya and Bengali culture and encouraged in my arduous work as president of the Utkal Society of Calcutta. His interest in his adopted daughter, who was one of the first law graduates of the Calcutta University and in his friend and associate, the Raja Sahib of Kanika, who rose to the membership of India Legislative Assembly and later on the Executive Council of Bihar, often brought us together.

Mr. Madhusudan Das's chief interest was the industrial advancement of Orissa and his Utkal Tannery was a standing monument of his remarkable zeal in this direction. I tried to assist

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in the rehabilitation of the growing industry but financial difficulties stood in the way and nearly crossed this great pioneer worker. He did not, however, give way but gathered together the broken bits and, in Kipling's memorable words, started life again and worked *do novo* with the vigour and ardour of youth.

In the difficult times ahead when a great march has to be made up Orissa has need of devoted, wholehearted and loyal sons like Madhusudan Das. May his soul rest in peace and may the race of workers like him grow from more to more for the glory and advancement of the ancient and mighty land of Odra – the home of arts and artisanship of culture and literature, and, above all, of rock-based spirituality.

Mr. Das's early education and training was in Bengal and among Bengalis and "Madhu Uriya" in the London Missionary Institute in Calcutta was a well-known and well-beloved figure among Bengali students. The feeling of comradeship was reciprocal and lasted all his life as he told me in 1930 when I presided over the Cuttack College Old Boy's Association's annual function and visited him at his well appointed home. He spoke Bengali and English well without accents and was an effective speaker and a powerful writer. He made his mark in the Bihar Legislative Council and easily rose to his material position as Minister. He soon made the P.WD. and the Medical Departments, which were in his special charge, uncomfortable. He reverted to his profession and to industry – his first love. His sacrifices and efforts in the domains of industry were Herculean and he raised the Utkal Tannery to high pinnacle of efficiency though, alas !, also to a high pinnacle of financial disaster. He had allways a soft corner in his capacious heart for Bengalis, many of whom he trained well in his industrial venture. His dogged independence and sustained spirit of sacrifice will ever be a shining beacon light in the growth of the new developing national life of Orissa that has to learn the lesson alike of fairplay, balance of judgment and toleration without which no national growth worth the name is possible. That was the lesson and the motto of the life of Madhusudan Das so worthily spent.

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(3)
AN IDOL OF THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

KHAJA MOHAMAD NOOR

By the passing away of Mr. Madhusudan Das, C.I.E. Orissa has lost a true patriot and a zealous champion of her aspirations. It is a matter of extreme regret that Mr. Das did not live long to see Orissa as a separate province and the fruition of his labour.

I met Mr. Das for the first time in January 1913 when I went to Cuttack in connection with my election to the Legislative Council of the newly formed province of Bihar & Orissa and Chhota Nagpur Division. I was struck with his outstanding personality. He was then seeking election to the Imperial Legislative Council from the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa. He explained to me that he wanted to be in the Imperial Council only to press for a united Orissa which was then, as he told me, dismembered by being under three different administrations. I found that a united Orissa was the ambition of his life. Though he had an ardent love for Orissa, he was absolutely free from racial or sectarian prejudices. Later on, I became very intimate with him, and our friendship lasted till his death. I was in close touch with him for about twenty years and had many occasions to see his work as a member of the Legislative Council, Minister, Fellow of the University and member of various committees on which I had the honour of serving with him. He was a man of wide knowledge, varied experience and had fullest grasp of the problems which came before him for solution . It fell to his lot to pilot in the reformed Legislative Council as Minister for the Department of Local Self-Government two very important bills, i.e. the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill and Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Bill. Throughout the progress of these bills showed utmost mastery over details. He had progressive views and was anxious to advance the cause of Local Self-Govemment and make the Local Bodies as popular as practicable, but in his zeal for reform he never lost sight of efficiency. He was a man of principle. He always had an open mind and would give due weight to the opinion of others which was in conflict with his own views, but when he decided upon a particular line of action nothing prevented him from pursuing it.

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When I went to Cuttack, along with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Wort to hold Circuit Court in December 1930, Mr. Das appeared before us in several cases. His advocacy and the detailed mastery of the facts of the case were really admirable. There was no sign of old age. He pressed his points tenaciously. Later on, a few months before his death, he appeared before me on behalf of the Raja of Parlakhemundi and I found him exactly the same, as eloquent and persuasive as ever. Though fairly old, he had the enthusiasm and vitality of a youth. His sympathies were broad and he was always ready to help the poor and needy. For decades he was an idol of the people of Orissa and it falls to the lot of a very few leaders to have such a hold upon the minds of people as Mr. Das had. The gap caused by his death will not be easily filled.

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(4)

RECOLLECTIONS

S. C. MALLICK

It was close upon 38 years ago. One December evening, 1897, our little steamer came out of the Jagatpur Lock-gate of the Kendrapara Canal on the broad expanse of the Mahanadi. The sun was setting and a glorious sunset it was.

Just at about dusk we arrived at the Jobra Ghat. There was a chaprasi of the Collector, Mr. E. F. Grouse, I.C.S., waiting for me with a letter. Mr. Grouse wrote apologising for not being able to meet me personally as there was no knowing when the steamer would arrive and asking me to come over to his house to stay with them until I could look about for myself. I was the newly appointed Assistant Magistrate and Collector posted for Cuttack.

After staying a few days with Mr. Grouse at Tulsipur Circuit House, I removed to a house near Katakchandi, the corner house within the Cantonment area just opposite the bungalow where the Indian Club was afterwards located. Mr. Madhusudan Das was almost my nextdoor neighbour. Rai Hari Ballabh Bose Bahadur who was the Government Pleader and Mr. M.S. Das were the leader of the Cuttack Bar with Babu Janaki Nath Bose and Priya Nath Chatterjee as good second. Among the rising young pleaders there were Babu Brajaraj-

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Choudhuri, Babu Biswa Nath Singh, Babu Gokulanand Choudhury and Babu Durga Prasanna Das Gupta, all men of intelligence and ability. Apart from the position as a leader of the Bar Mr. Das was the most influential person in Orissa at the time. Indeed in those days one could hardly think of Cuttack or even Orissa without Madhusudan Das. Mr. Das had a very extensive practice in the province and he seemed to have a wide influence over the Tributary Chiefs of Orissa as he helped them on occasions when they were in real troubles and difficulties.

Soon after my arrival in Cuttack my wife joined me. She was about the same age of Miss Shoila Bala Hazra whom Mr. Das subsequently adopted as his daughter. Being of about the same age Miss Das and my wife soon became fast friends : a friendship that subsisted until my wife died in 1929. Mr. Das also began to look upon us as his children. Both my wife and I were inexperienced young people at the time and Mr. Das was of considerable help and assisted us in many ways.

Mr. Das's hospitality in those days knew no bounds. He lavishly entertained people both official and non-official and there was no occasion of any importance without an entertainment of some kind or other from Mr. Das. But it was not by giving food and drink only that Mr. Das entertained. He was always full of epigrams and short stories with witty endings.

Mr. Das was a true friend of the poor. He was determined to do all in his power to help a poor man if he was ever convinced that he had been wronged or had been the victim of an injustice,. I have a vague recollection of a case in which some poor Oriyas who, Mr. Das was convinced, were perfectly innocent and were put on their trial and ultimately convicted. But even after their conviction Mr. Madhusudan Das would not give up the matter. He continued his efforts unabated until he succeeded in getting the men freed.

Orissa was indebted to Mr. Das in more than one way. It was he who showed that excellent filigree work could be done by the Oriya gold and silversmiths and it was he who showed how a lucrative trade could be developed in Indian crocodile skins.

It was Madhusudan Das again who by his ceaseless and untiring energy made the creation of a separate and distinct province of Orissa an accomplished fact, a lifelong dream of his. It is a thousand pities he did not live to see the newly created province actually functioning.

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But Mr. Das was not a man without his enemies. I distinctly noticed that there were in Orissa some people who eyed him and his doings with a certain amount of suspicion. I could not make out, however, what these suspicions were based upon. It may be the way in which Mr. Das spent was beyond his means, which being his income from the profession as a lawyer. But one must not forget that Mr. Das could legitimately claim and earn considerable fees from the work he did for some of the Tributary Chiefs.

It was a noticeable fact that during my stay of five years in Orissa, Mr. Das who as a lawyer commanding perhaps the most extensive practice in Orissa never appeared in my Court, although being the Joint Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer, I had in those days to try the most important criminal cases. I could not at that time make out what it was really due to and the question was too delicate for me to put to Mr. Das himself. It was some time after I had left Orissa that I came to know what the real reason was. If he never appeared in my Court it was not because he had been offered no brief to appear before me but he considered that having regard to the great intimacy between us it would not be fair on me for him to appear in my Court. I was told that there had been occasions when he resolutely refused to bring in cases before me although very big fees were offered to him.

Mr. Das was very fond of my wife. He looked upon her almost as his daughter. I shall never forget the kind and affectionate words he said to her when she was lying in a precarious condition, after a very big operation performed on her in 1928.

Madhusudan Das can rightly be described as a friend of the poor and a true, just and fearless son of Orissa and his death is a great loss to Orissa.

❖❖❖

(5)
AN APPRECIATION

SUBODH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE,

I came to know Mr. Das long ago when I was a student in the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack. His name had already acquired fame far and wide. I was first attracted by one of his speeches in a public

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meeting. Since then I heard several of his public speeches. His power of speech, his command over the English language, his clearness of expression, and above all, his wit and humour were most remarkable and always charmed the audience. He was indeed one of the greatest speakers of his time, and I consider that in his wit and humour he excelled all. It was particularly by reason of his wit and humour that his speeches were always very impressive and he could carry the audience with him.

After I joined the Cuttack Bar in 1913, I came to be familiar with Mr. Das who was then unquestionably the leader of the Bar. He was in fact the strength and pride of our Bar. He was a lawyer of high ideals and principles. He was always keen in maintaining the honour and dignity of the Bar. While advising the junior members he often instilled in their minds the necessity of keeping the dignity of their profession. The legal profession is said to be an honourable one, and undoubtedly it is so. This profession is the brain power of public life and is the maker of the best and useful citizens. To be worthy and honourable members of the profession it should be our motto to be honest, sincere and industrious, and above all, independent. Mr. Das had in him a combination of these qualities which raised him to the position of eminence he occupied. His death has created a void in the Cuttack Bar which cannot possibly be filled up.

Mr. Das was a great speaker and a great lawyer, but as a man he was far greater. His mortal frame has perished, as it must, but the name and fame he has left behind will never disappear. His greatest virtues which will make his name immortal were his love for his country and love for the poor. Every drop of blood that ran in his veins was inspired with this sublime love. He sacrificed his life for the cause of his country. His only aim was to uplift his country and his nation. He was a patriot of a very high order of whom any country in the world could well boast. He had always been working hard to link together the Oriya nation under a separate administration. By God's grace he lived to be blessed with fulfilment of his long cherished desire, though unfortunately he was not spared till the actual working of the new province of Orissa. The loss which his death has caused to Orissa can never be retrieved.

He was equally notable for his charity. His heart was always full of love and sympathy for the poor and distressed. His magnanimity

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of heart is beyond all description. His charity was unbounded. He earned like a prince and spent like a prince. He would never refuse help to any body who would approach him, be he really needy or not. His purse was always open. Even during the last days of his life, when he was himself feeling the pinch of poverty, he could never say "no" to a person who came to him for his help. He really found delight in helping others. There are many poor people who were supported by him and whose bread has been taken away by his death. He was a great support to the student community whom he helped ungrudgingly, even to the last day of his life

He had other traits of character which adorn good and great men. The most important were his spirit of self-help and independence and his God-fearing nature. He was entirely a self-made man. By his own abilities and exertions he became so great. He was thoroughly independent and at the same time most law-abiding. He had firm faith in God. Without such faith he could not so calmly bear the ordeal through which he had to pass during the last days of his life. He used to say, "Those who fear God fear nobody on earth". This is a perfectly true saying. He had truly that consciousness in his heart.

While acting in support of a right cause and particularly for the good of his countrymen he would never swerve an inch from his path of duty and would stubbornly face the difficulties that might beset that path regardless of the consequences. It was no small sacrifice on his part to resign the office of Minister of the Government of Bihar and Orissa when he felt he could no longer act consistently with his own principles. He never cared for self-interest which he was ever ready to sacrifice in the interest of his countrymen. Public interest was the guiding spirit of all his actions. Sense of duty was supreme in his mind.

He lived till the good old age of 84. He was of weak constitution but he had untiring energy. He lived on such a low diet that it might be said he lived on his intellect. He was always very hard-working and he worked to earn his bread almost till the last day of his life. Even in his old age he worked so hard that much younger people who worked with him could not keep pace with him. Not only his physical capacity for work remained unaffected but also his brain was quite clear and powerful even till the end. He was really a wonderful man.

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III

REMINISCENCE OF MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(1)

NOTE ON THE LIFE OF LATE MADHUSUDAN DAS

M. YUNUS

I consider it a privilege to say a few words on the life of the late Mr. Madhusudan Das, late Minister of the Local Self-Government of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

I had the privilege of knowing Mr. Das both as an advocate as well as a politician, because in both these capacities I had occasions to work with him and against him, and in both these capacities I felt sure of success when I worked with him, but my mind was far from easy when I had to work against him in either of these capacities. He was a great Indian patriot prepared to sacrifice all for the sake of his principle and his people and on personal sacrifice he tried to foster many Indian industries one of them, namely the Utkal Tannery, may be prominently mentioned. He was noted for his political sagacity and independence of thought. Fearless of all, unmindful of favours and frowns he was a man of high principles. As a lawyer he was noted for legal acumen and masterly advocacy. In private and social life he was a most lovable creature and a most hospitable host. He was a true Christian and religious to a fault. He was rightly known as the grand old man of Orissa.

(2)

A LAWYER AND COBBLER

GANESH DUTT SINGH

I heard much of Mr. Das as a lawyer and a public man while I was practising in the Calcutta High Court. I saw him once or twice

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in the Patna High Court when he was a member of the Legislative Assembly as a representative of this province— I became personally acquainted with him when he was appointed Minister by the late Lord Sinha, the first Indian Governor. The appointment was received with some surprise on account of his advanced age. He was about 73 years at the time of appointment.

He was assigned the portfolio of Local Self-Government and he took up the work in right earnest. I, as a member, had to discuss almost all important problems specially concerning public health and administration of local bodies I found him extremely sympathetic and inclined to take keenest interest in the welfare of the people. I generally found him bold and independent which was a rare qualification of a Minister under Dyarchy. There were several matters in which I came in direct conflict with his views and the first and foremost was the salary of the Minister. I tabled a resolution that the Minister's salary which was fixed at first Rs. 5,000 be fixed at Rs. 4,000. There were several amendments to this motion, Mr. Das was not in favour of any reduction salary. The Council voted against my resolution. One year later on 21st of February, 1922, Mr. Das in his speech said that the post of the Minister should be an honorary one. I quote below his speech.

"I have always looked upon gold as a handful of dust which a man might throw from his hands and still be a man— a being with a Divine spark in him... He must inspire the members of the Municipalities and District Boards, all local bodies, local authorities and the villagers with a patriotic spirit, inculcate in them a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice, a genuine desire of nation-building, and with their cooperation discharge the responsibilities of his office. In an organisation in which all the workers are honorary, a salaried Minister mars the symmetry and harmony of the organisations. The office of the Minister of the Local Self-Government ought to be honorary."

His ground was that when the executives of local bodies were honorary and work was expected from them there was no reason why the post of the Minister should carry high salary. There is much force in his argument, but how far it is practicable under the present condition of the country is a debatable matter.

In 1923 I had moved again another resolution for reduction in Minister's salary from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 4,000, which was accepted

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by the Council and reluctantly by Mr. Das also. He was in favour of either full salary or no salary at all but that position was not acceptable to the council. Mr. Das agreed to the reduction in order to accommodate his brother-minister, the late Sir Fakhruddin, and subsequently resigned his post on account of his conviction. He was of opinion that the Minister should be fully paid to maintain his dignity or he should be a Minister of the type of Vidoor and Chanakya. As the Council did not accept his view, he very rightly tendered his resignation to save the position of Sir Fakhruddin. I do not know when his ideal will be attained. Ministers in ancient India felt pride in their poverty but India of today is quite different and the post of the Minister is coveted on account of its high salary.

Mr. Das immediately after his appointment took up the amendment of the Municipal Act and the Local Self-Government Act, the materials for which were being collected for some time past. The task was a very heavy one ; Mr. Das as a lawyer and accustomed to labour on briefs was competent for the work. The Bill was introduced in the Council and was circulated for public opinion. Mr. Das carefully examined the public view as expressed in the Council and also outside and made the draft Bills as liberal as practicable. I was one of the members of the Select Committee of the Local Self-Government Bill and am fully aware that he was in favour of investing local bodies with full powers of control over their administration. When the Bill was taken up for consideration in the Council, I took active part in proposing amendments most of which were accepted. Mr. Das took very lively interest in liberalising the provisions of the Bills. Both the Municipal and local Self-Government Acts are monuments of his work in the council and of his ideals of the liberty of the people. They were the first liberal Acts passed in India in the Reformed Council. I have had, as a Minister, to deal with both the Acts for a number of years. No doubt there are defects and sometimes considerable difficulty is felt in dealing with local bodies which do not observe the provisions of the law ; still I must admit that the liberal spirit of Mr. Das is noticed everywhere.

Mr. Das as Minister preferred efficiency to economy .His idea was that economy sometimes affects efficiency. This was considerably noticeable during the Retrenchment Committee meetings and other debates in the Council. He was also in favour of freedom of the

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judiciary. He never liked that the councils should interfere in matters judicial. His view was that the dignity and freedom of Judges and Ministers should be preserved.

Though advanced in years the fire of youth was not extinct in him. He resented when there was anything not in conformity with his dignity and position. He was generally generous and charitable. He was very keen on the industrial development of the country which he considered essential for providing labour to the poor and with this idea he started Utkal Tannery which unfortunately was the cause of his financial ruin. I read the report of the tannery. He was keen for its development, and he made considerable sacrifice for it. In order to teach shoe-making he himself became a shoemaker ! He was a lawyer and cobbler, both, before being Minister. This is the highest compliment as a lawyer to him that at the advanced age of 75, after resigning from Ministry he used to have a decent income from legal profession and even at that age he sat on his brief up to midnight. When I met him in Cuttack in 1926 I found him, though apparently weak and emaciated, full of energy. He knew no rest. Rest came to him only in his grave.

(3)

THE LATE MR. M.S. Das

BODHRAM DUBE

Very few persons of Modern Orissa in their own days commanded as much respect as the late Mr. M.S. Das. All sections of the Oriya population paid homage to this great man. To the educated, he was the grand old man of Orissa, a great patriot, a first rate lawyer and businessman and a forceful speaker ; to the uneducated and common mass he was "Madhu Barrister" whose name was quoted as the personification of learning. His was a household name even in the most obscure parts of Orissa.

It is impossible for us. the people of Orissa, to forget him, his name being so inseparably connected with our province. Whenever we think of Orissa, the great man who devoted himself so ardently for her service naturally comes into out mind. When the Oriya as

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a nation was very little known outside, it was he who first strained himself successfully to make it known. He felt the necessity of a powerful organisation which through his endeavour came into existence in the shape of "The Utkal Sammilani" to represent the common cause of the Oriya-speaking population. When the claims of the Oriyas were being ignored by outsiders, it was he who first fought for their rights and privileges. He may be described as the father of "NEW ORISSA" Province inasmuch as the movements resulting in the creation of the province had their source from him. His love for Oriyas and the Mother Utkal was pure, simple and genuine and his views in politics were well known to those who have derived their inspiration in politics from him. No one who has ever heard his public lectures can deny him the credit of a forceful speaker. Learning and clear logic combined with undaunted powers of eloquence made him a very distinguished speaker. He could lecture on a large variety of topics, and on every such occasion his extraordinary power of elocution and humour would be manifest and make the audience spellbound. One can picture the lean and thin but stubborn man thundering in the midst of a huge and distinguished gathering, his ideas cloaked in impassioned utterances, his voice raised to its highest pitch at important moments. When he was speaking there was one and only one mind running through the audience, and that was of Mr. Das was thinking and hold the same opinions as he was holding. It was next to impossible not to agree with him, so persuasively and masterfully did he speak.

Mr. Das was a reputed and popular lawyer. His claims as being the most prominent member of the legal profession in Orissa were never called into question. Sincere and hard-working and well-versed in legal principles, he further combined in him an exemplary and inimitable ability in the art of cross-examination and an extraordinary capacity for presenting the facts of a case and urging the law-points involved in it before a Court of justice in a lucid, systematic, effective and convincing way. The litigant had absolute confidence in this great lawyer and was very eager to be efficiently represented by him.

The first Oriya to receive higher education on Western lines, the first BA. and the first M.A. of Orissa, he was also the first Oriya to hold the distinguished position of a Minister. As a Minister of the Government of Bihar and Orissa he showed a marked capacity for action.

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He had always in view the general welfare of the people. The improvements he made on the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Laws are highly creditable and unique in their nature. He possessed the marvellous courage of his conviction and kept up his independence of opinion and judgement till the last. He thought it wise to tender his resignation from the office of Minister when he found that the difference of his opinion in matter of his independent decision in respect of making the post of the Minister of Local Self-Government honorary was not accepted by the Governor.

The reputation of Mr. Das as a pioneer of national industry is very great. The establishment of Utkal Tannery was his noble enterprise and a great venture. This factory was unique in its kind and its production excelled in quality those of other countries so much so that it gained wide popularity in countries abroad. The excellence of quality and durability of leather works manufactured by it commended the use of boots made in the factory to the soldiers during the last Great War. As ill-luck would have it, the great enterprise met with failure no doubt, but not before Mr. Das had given an impetus to the people of Orissa for development of such ideal industries

He was a careful observer of human nature and he had implicit faith in God. He was such an efficient teacher that his impressive tuition could produce man of giant intellect like late Sir Asutosh Mukherji, one of the foremost educationists of the world as well as one of the most capable justices of the premier High Court of Judicature in India. He was a hard task master and merciless critic of the actions of younger generation. His frowning and relentless criticisms fraught with milk of human kindness were blessing to those who had the privilege of being such victims. I for myself had the advantage of being such a victim and I owe great veneration to the great soul for the inspiration which I have imbibed from him for my activities in life.

This great man has left us for about four years, but is still fresh in our minds. So long as the Oriyas will have adoration for heroes of their country Mr. Das will always remain enshrined in their hearts. He is no more but his name and fame will endure very long.

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(4)

MADHUSUDAN : CREATOR OF MODERN ORISSA

BISWANATH DAS.

The late lamented Madhusudan Das will always go to history as the renovator of Orissa. Orissa of the present day is far different from Orissa when Madhusudan entered the arena of politics. It was a time when she was in the deepest depth of miseries and was about to lose her identity and her language. A school of thought sprang in Bengal under the leadership of Kantichandra Bhattacharyya propagating the theory that Oriya is the daughter language of Bengalee and as such Bengalee be substituted for Oriya as the language of the people in all schools and Courts and public documents. It was a time when Madhusudan with a set of young men like Fakeermohan and Pyarimohan appeared in the political horizon to save the identity of Oriyas who were the last in India to lose their independence and were the first to be crushed under the heels of British rule. Madhusudan thus began his life as the saviour of Oriya language and culture and devoted himself for the uplift of his people. His God and country were the sole object of his thought till he breathed his last breath.

Like Surendranath, Tilak, Ranade, Ajodhyanath, he was the creator of Modern Orissa and has to his credit a number of youthful self-sacrificing disciples pledged to devote to the service of the motherland like the late lamented Gopabandhu Das and Abhiram Bhunj of sacred memory. A politician and a patriot, he realised the necessity of greater Orissa as a distinct unit in the Indian firmament and inaugurated the Utkal Union Conference and thereafter the movement for a separate Orissa Province. It was given to him to see the fruition of his labours of past 40 years, before his death. The name of Madhusudan, his help, sympathy and cooperation, active or passive, will be found in the pages of the history of every institution that has sprung up in Orissa during the past 50 years calculated to increase the wealth or enhance the prestige of Orissa. He was a pioneer in the field of industry and was the first to call for Praja Sabha (peasant's

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organisation) which has been today a very powerful organisation in India. Madhusudan combined in him the imagination of a poet, eloquence of an orator and the keen perception of a debater. He was thus a force by himself —in the long and glorious period of his existence in the Legislative Assembly called Imperial Council and Provincial Legislature called the Legislative Council and the Central Assembly. He combined in him the greatest critic of British imperialism and the greatest believer in the self-government of India in the British commonwealth of nations. A Christian by faith Madhusudan was the most tolerant Christian in action.

Office, wealth or title never captivated him. He was one of the few mofussil practitioners in India that has earned millions of rupees and died as an insolvent, living on his own earning till his death. He earned and spend like a prince. He was selected as a Minister by the Government of Bihar and Orissa under the Montfort-dispensation. His was the solitary instance among Minister in India who resigned his office of position and pay of Rs. 5,000 a month on the ground that a Minister for Local Self-Government having to deal with honorary workers in the field of local autonomy, should have his option of serving the country as an honorary worker.

A lifelong dyspeptic Madhusudan always took pleasure in giving best of dinners. He was regarded as the one host where hospitality is manifested itself. A lover of boys, a sympathiser of womenfolk, the greatest critic of youthful young men, Madhusudan was the idol of his country for 50 long years. "Madhu Babu" is thus the household word in Orissa.

The writer was one of those who took his inspiration from the illustrious life of this great soul. I distinctly remember the day when Madhu Babu wanted me to take to politics and inculcated in me the necessity of devoting wholly and solely to the service of the country. If I am anything today it is due to the soothing and softening and shaping influences of two illustrious soul of Orissa, the late lamented Madhusudan Das and Gopabandhu Das.

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(5)

A MAJESTIC PERSONALTY

ABDUL KARIM

I first met the late Mr. M.S. Das, C.I.E., in the year 1896, on my visit to Cuttack as Assistant Inspector of Schools for Mohammedan Education. He impressed me much by his courtesy, affability and suavity of manner, which endeared him to all who had occasion to come in contact with him. By his public spirit, liberal views and philanthropic activities he commanded the esteem and confidence of his contemporaries who regarded him as an outstanding personality of the time. He was free from communalism and was, therefore, very popular with people of all creeds and communities.

When he was a Minister under the Government of Bihar and Orissa, I had occasion to meet him often at the place of his colleague, the late Sir Syed Fakhruddin. I was struck by his sanity, sobriety, independence and devotion to duty in his old age. He had to relinquish his high office, if my information is correct, as he could not subscribe to the policy of Government in certain matters.

I need hardly say that the late Mr. Das has left a noble example that deserves to be imitated and emulated by his countrymen.

(6)

A GREAT PIONEER

MUKUNDA PROSAD DAS

I have been asked to write a few lines on the life and activities of late lamented Mr. Madhusudan Das, one of the greatest sons Orissa has produced within the living memory. But while I take to my pen, I am so much overwhelmed and overpowered by the various thoughts with regard to several aspects of his life that I do not know where

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to begin and where to end. I did first come in contact with his great personality in 1907 at the Utkal Union Conference, the aim of which was the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts, which to the misfortune of Orissa lay scattered over four provinces, and which factor acted as a great impediment to the growth and development of Oriyas as a distinct race in the vast Indian subcontinent. He was the founder and sponsor of the movement for this unification of all the Oriya speaking tracts under one and the same administration.

I cannot express how glad he would have been to find the creation of the new Orissa Province, howsoever partial and unsatisfactory it may be, had he been spared a few years more. His life was not only a life of toil and relentless and energetic activities, sincere devotion to the cause he undertook, but was a life of intense patriotism. He earned like a prince and spent more than a prince for which he had to suffer pecuniary difficulties towards the end of his great career. Revival of dead Orissan silver arts and filigree works is due to his most lavish expenditure of his own hard-earned money. Utkal Tannery which produced leather goods from the hides of dead cattle was the monument of his industrial success. Even today this tannery is a household word in almost all places in Orissa and even some places outside it. In this connection I have clear memory of two facts. One, during the earlier stages of this industry, one year's guarantee was given to customers of shoes. In fact several thousands of new pairs of shoes were given to customers who said that their shoes did not last a year. On another occasion some defects having been noticed by him in large quantities of tanned leather, major part of which could without any deterioration in the quality have been used, were destroyed in his immediate presence, the value of which would have been several thousands of rupees. This will at once prove how zealous he was of his reputation as an industrialist. Had this business been conducted with a little bit more care and in commercial spirit, it would have succeeded in occupying one of the first and foremost places amongst the modern Indian tanneries today.

His legal acumen and mastery over English language and the burning patriotism can always be very favourably compared with all the best men of his time in India. His clear conscience made him resign his office as Minister of the Bihar and Orissa Government and

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he was the first Indian Minister to declare the hollowness of the much advertised Montford Reforms and to resign his high office. After his acceptance of the ministry, I had the occasion to preside over the first non-co-operation meeting at Cuttack in 1921 which not only recorded a vote of condemnation to the so-called reforms, but also deprecated the acceptance of the ministry by Mr. Das.

Mr. Das's intellect and memory up to his ripe age of 84 were clear. His death has left a gap in Orissa which has not been and cannot be filled up in several years to come.

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IV

REMINISCENCE OF OFFICIALS (INDIAN)

(1)

AN APPRECIATION

B.K.GOKHALE

I met the Grand Old Man of Orissa twenty years ago when I was first posted as Assistant Magistrate. His proverbial kindness and hospitality will always be remembered by all officers posted to Cuttack. I was particularly indebted to him for introducing me to the best Oriya society and literature and for making me feel perfectly at home in Orissa. With all that, his behaviour in Court before junior officers was correct even to the point of being hard on himself. I remember one day in Khurda when a case was prolonged beyond the usual Court hours, but the Grand Old Man indignantly rejected my suggestion that he should take a seat while arguing the case.

After I left Khurda I had little occasion to meet him but I shall always remember him as the first great man whom I have had the privilege of meeting in this province.

(2)

A REMINISCENCE

S.LALL

As an Assistant Magistrate at Cuttack I called on the late Mr. Madhusudan Das in January, 1920, with a letter of introduction from my father who knew him well. In spite of his feeble frame, Mr. Madhusudan Das possessed a remarkable personality which immediately made a deep impression on me. He was even then a man well advanced in years, but his energy was astounding. In addition to his professional work in which from my own experience I can say he never spared himself, he had other schemes in hand which must

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obviously have taken a good deal of his time and leisure. In particular, he was then keenly interested in the Utkal Tannery which was started through his efforts. Mr. Madhusudan Das took me personally to this tannery in which he tried to combine efficiency with charity. The workers were well treated and many of them were criminals with previous convictions whom Mr. Das was trying to reform. The subsequent failure of this tannery must have caused considerable anguish to Mr. Das, though outwardly he took good care to conceal his grief.

Mr. Madhusudan Das had at all times a friendly smile for the younger generation and took every opportunity of placing before the young men, with whom he came into contact, a high ideal of patriotism and service. At the same time none of us felt that Mr. Das was trying to be patronising because his preaching was silent and he had an extraordinary sense of humour which made every one feel at home in his company. Later on, I met Mr. Das, as Minister for Local Self-Government, when he visited Darbhanga where I was then posted. The elevation to this high position seemed to make no difference to him; he had the same friendly and inspiring smile for me when I was presented to him by my Collector. I knew also that his visit to the district made a deep impression on the people. I met Mr. Das once again some years after his resignation from the post of Minister. He appeared to have aged considerably and he also referred to the disappointments in his life, but there was still the humour which gave the impression of cheerfulness in spite of misfortune. It is a thousand pities that Mr. Das did not live to see a separate and united Orissa -an Ideal for which he worked so hard throughout his life. He has left a spiritual message of service and sacrifice not only for his own province but for all those who came into contact with him.

(3)

THE GRAND OLD MAN OF ORISSA

B.C. MUKHERJI

I still remember vividly my first meeting with the late Mr. Madhusudan Das. That was in 1927 when I was on settlement training

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at Cuttack. Mr. Das was then already a very old man and looked much older than he really was, due no doubt to the deep-seated disease which ultimately brought about his death.

Accompanied by a friend who knew Mr. Das fairly well (Mr. N. Senapati, I.C.S.) I called on the Grand Old Man of Orissa. What impressed me most on that occasion was the amazing vitality of the man and his mental alertness in spite of old age and very bad health. Outwardly he was insignificant enough, a small dark man with white hair, short of stature and extremely emaciated. His face was deeply lined and bore traces of both physical and mental suffering. But as he talked I noticed that his eyes glowed like live charcoal, and that a certain grimness about the mouth betokened the real man beneath the surface. As he himself said on that occasion, " I am dead from shoulders downwards ; only my head is alive". If by "head" he meant his brains, will power and mental energy, all these certainly remained very much alive right up to the time of his death.

We talked rather at random, though most of the talking was done by Mr. Das. He was in a reminiscent mood and related his experiences as a boy in an out-of-the-way village, as a student in Calcutta, as a lawyer and public man, as a Minister, and as the founder and organiser of the Utkal Tannery. His burning patriotism and his lifelong desire to uplift the Oriya masses and to see his country recognised as a separate political unit, with a distinctive cultural background of its own, seemed to be the keynote of all that he said and thought.

It was by no means the talk of a placid old gentleman relating with a benignant smile memories of the past. Up to the last Mr. Das had none of that inward glow of satisfaction that we commonly associate with a successful man taking his well earned rest in the evening of life after a well spent life. Although he had one foot in the grave and was very much aware of the fact, Mr. Das seemed to be still grappling with the problems of life, personal as well as national, as vigorously as ever. He talked very much like a man still in the thick of the fight and could and did say fairly hard things about men and events. Indeed in a sense, Mr. Das was never a successful man, if success is measured by the amount of worldly means and leisure secured. His Utkal Tannery had failed, he was financially ruined and he had to pursue his profession of law right up to the end to maintain himself.

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I carried away the impression with me that here was a great intellect passionately devoted to the cause of justice and truth, but rather embittered by what life had brought to him so far.

I met him again, more than four years later, when he came to plead before the Orissa Committee the case for the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking territories into a single political unit. It must have been a source of immense satisfaction to him that he lived to see his dream of a united Orissa on the eve of realisation.

Mr. Das died towards the end of my tenure of office as Collector of Cuttack (March, 1933 to May, 1935). During these two years I had many opportunities to meet him, and the more I saw him the more I realised how truly great the man was. If he was at times hard and bitter, he had softer traits in his character which I had failed to discover at our first meeting. He had a charming childlike smile which, on rare occasions, illuminated his face and softened the usual grimness of its expression ; and right up to the end he could enjoy a joke, even one against himself.

It would be a mistake to judge a man like Mr. Das by his tangible achievements. He left behind him neither wealth nor a successful organisation. But the high ideal he set up before his people and the impress he left on the Oriya public character will last for ever. Throughout his life he was a fighter who never considered immediate gains or losses. He staked his all for the good of his people whom he deeply loved, but whom he often roundly abused. Though he lost all and died a disappointed man, he gave to his country a spiritual heritage which they should cherish for all time to come.

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(4)

A HOMAGE

P.C. RAY CHAUDHURY

A lean and thin man with the time-honoured Hukka by his side and a table littered with papers and books in his front and breaking into a child's laugh in the course of conversation, and that was late Mr.. Das in his study. To this study repaired men of all walks of

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life, from the Rajas and the Maharajas down to the street beggar, and this very busy man never had a refusal for any one. A brilliant conversationist it was a treat and a lesson to hear him talk. Probably he was an encyclopaedia in himself--- he could talk and talk sensibly and capture the imagination and sentiments for the people that clustered round him. On his table you could have seen the latest publication about the political tangle of some country in a corner of the World, the latest research on mental deficiency and also the effusion of some obscure poet from a corner of Orissa. Hours and hours he would pass in his study poring over books, pamphlets and magazines, not to speak of his briefs.

The influence and power that he held in Orissa was tremendous, and the following story will testify to it. When the Great War broke out and the prices of things went up which affected the villagers along with the townsmen, one day two rustics found their way to the house of their beloved Madhu Babu and sought his audience. They were brought to him and with folded hands these two men implored Madhu Babu, their idol, to stop the war as they were feeling the pinch of it. This was his influence over the mass twenty years before. He was the people's Uncrowned King.

His many sided activities were a marvel and one wondered as to how he could combine so many in him. He was the pioneer of the neo-industrial move and gave an impetus to the tanning and silver filigree work in Orissa. Scores of years he eulogised and exhorted the people to take to the handloom and obtained same success. He was punctilious to the degree as to the industrial output and would insist on the efficiency and worth of the finished product. The writer has known of a case when he destroyed finished leather worth more than Rs 500, simply because it fell a little short of his test. He organised the tanning industry and his Utkal Tannery was the byword for excellent goods twenty years back. He knew the vast economic resources of Orissa, her forest wealth, and he also knew the latent capacity of the people. The practical politician that he was, he brought the two factors together and he should always be regarded as the man who organised the industry on a scientific basis in the recent times in Utkal. Nemesis was hard on him, but he invited crash in his industrial activities because of his too high a standard, and his punctilious honesty and probably a little lack of recognising some practical factors of business. His Orissa Art Wares was more a museum

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of marvellous craftsmanship of the silversmiths of Cuttack than a shop. His imagination worked marvels and it was he who brought out teapots out of cocoanut shells and shoes of pure bark of tree without any leather.

Coming to think of him two traits of his character stand out very prominent. The first was his intense regard for his mother. Even in his old age whenever he would speak of his mother his eyes would indicate his feelings. Again and again did he allude that it was his mother who taught him the rudiments of high personal character. How many times on the platform I have heard him say that it was his mother who taught him "Apana Mahattva Apne Rakha". That is, keep up your own prestige yourself. The child that lisped those words on the mother's lap remembered them well and carried the torch of that lesson high throughout his career. It is this spirit that bred in him an optimism that recognised no defeat. He had known many phases of life. He had tasted poverty after being rich. But he never murmured and he never lost hope. Never did he lose sense of dignity and prestige. Throughout his chequered career he never forgot the lesson imbibed from his mother.

The second trait was his love and regard for the poor. His was an open house and in his usual evening walks by the side of the Mahanadi he would often pick up some rustic and talk with him as a brother. He always used to say that the statesman's real work is amongst the poor and as a Minister he tried to carry some of his ideas into fruition.

It is needless to report that his work as the Father of the Orissa Nationalism has been recognised well. It was his cherished dream to bring all the Oriya speaking tracts into one administrative unit and he plodded laboriously for this end. He was a keen journalist and it was a well-known fact that the now defunct "The Star of Utkal", the triweekly newspaper of the late Khirod Chandra Ray Chaudhury, derived contributions and editorials from him often. After "The Star of Utkal " had set, he edited "The Oriya" for some time. He could write brilliantly and there was a note of suave witticism when he was scathing in his remarks. As a speaker he could stand out as one of the best dozen speakers of India. A keen educationist he was ; he always used to say that education and agitation were the two media through which a statesman should work.

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It is not that he did not have defects. Probably he had some, but the time has come when he should be recognised for all that the did. Every normal man has his defective traits and he was no exception. But the elements were so mixed in him that we should stand out and proclaim that here was a great man who lived and died for Orissa.

(5)

MADHUSUDAN – A PEN PORTRAIT

SRIKRISHNA MAHAPATRA

Madhusudan was the greatest production of English education in Orissa. Born in a village when Orissa was looked upon as a benighted country, he built an amazing career for himself. To the masses he was a wonder. " Did you meet Madhu Babu ?" "Did you see Gourishankar Babu's Printing Press ?" "Did you see the Tiger of Golak Babu ?"-- these were the questions that a villager returning from Cuttack was almost invariably asked by his village folk in those days. To the student he was an inspiration. To the Chiefs of the States of Orissa he was a trusted counsellor. An eminent Englishman, who visited Orissa early in this century, described him as the "uncrowned King of Orissa." He was a fighter and fought to the end. In his veins flew the blood of a family of warriors known as Mallas of Abertock who later on migrated to Satyabhamapur. His grandmother was a Suttee and when ever he went to his village, he said he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine.

Madhusudan began his career as a teacher and never ceased to be one. He imparted lessons to students for only a few years but went on imparting lessons to his nation throughout his life. He inculcated into the mind of his countrymen the national spirit which enabled them to realise that they belonged to a nation which had a glorious past. He was at first an admirer of the Indian National Congress but soon discarded it as he felt that the Oriya needed a separate organisation for his growth. He himself founded that

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organisation -- the Utkal Union Conference, on which he spent heaps of money but did not spend it in vain. It is this organisation, its persistent struggle and determination which won for the Oriya a separate province.

The man was greater than the public man is the well considered verdict of one who knew Madhusudan both as a man and public man for nearly half a century. He helped people in distress and difficulty and his left hand did not know what his right hand gave....

Madhusudan was regarded as the saviour of the great Temple of Jagannath. When the Government of Bengal attempted to take the temple under its management and there was a commotion throughout the country , Madhusudan espoused the cause of the Hindu community. He urged that the Raja who performed the worship was the Pope of the Hindu world whose name and year of reign were borne on the horoscope of every Oriya child and could not be deprived on his rights. He triumphed at last and the attempt was given up. The press and the public paid great tribute to him.

Madhusudan realised the important part that industries play in the development of a country. He found hundreds of ton of raw hide and skin exported from Orissa and thought he could make better use of them. This was the origin of the Utkal Tannery which turned out leather goods which were highly appreciated in Europe and America. He was so jealous of the reputation of his pet child that he would burn all inferior productions contrary to commercial principles. He spent his fortune over this business which landed him in financial difficulty.

He did not regret that though he earned money like a prince, he died a poor man. Even before his death he was thinking of a big factory which would utilise the vast raw products of Orissa and provide work for the Oriya labourer who goes abroad in sound health but returns home a physical wreck.

Madhusudan's mission was the uplift of Orissa. That mission he fulfilled. He continued to think of his country till the very end. He is gone but his spirit lives in the heart of every Oriya. Glory to the name of Madhusudan.

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(6)

MADHUSUDAN DAS

BAWA KARTAR SINGH

It is sad now to refer to the death of the Grand Old Man of Orissa -- the late Mr. Madhusudan Das. To say that he was a pioneer in many fields, and that he was one of the makers of new Orissa, is not enough. He was much more besides. His death has left in public life a void difficult to fill.

Although it may not be generally known, Mr. Madhusudan Das was an educationist with actual experience of teaching. He took up the teaching of Law with considerable success at Cuttack when he found that Oriya students were not doing well in that subject. He used to tell me that he was the private tutor of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, during his childhood, with whom he kept up constant correspondence. He also told me that he had a presentiment of the death of Sir Ashutosh on the day it occurred.

Mr. M.S. Das was indeed the foremost Oriya of modern times. He was the first Oriya graduate in Art and Law of the Calcutta University, the first Oriya to go abroad and the first Oriya to become a Minister.

Although Mr. Madhusudan Das did well in the legal profession his interest was mainly in industry, as he felt that the rejuvenation of Orissa was only possible through it. He gave great impetus to the silver filigree work, the horn work and the tanning industry by establishing institutes and factories which gave great scope for the training and the employment of the Oriya people.

The difficult postwar period and the trade depression which followed in its wake led to the failure of his enterprises, and I believe this came as a heavy blow to Mr. Das in his old age.

There is no doubt, however, that Mr. Madhusudan Das was a great idealist. His main ideal was to create a separate province of Orissa. The separation of Orissa from Bengal in 1912 was only a partial fulfilment of his ambition. He lived to know that his ideal had been accepted at the Round Table Conference, and though he

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passed away before Orissa was created as a separate unit, he had the great satisfaction of knowing that his work was done . Its further growth and development he left to the younger generation of Orissa whose regards for the ideals of their Grand Old Man will evolve a greater, happier and united Orissa.

(7)

THE GRAND OLD MAN OF ORISSA

ATUL CHANDRA GANGULI

The grand old man of Orissa, Mr. Madhusudan Das, M.A., B.L., C.I.E., the maker of Modern Orissa, struggled lifelong for the uplift of the Oriya race. He earned a lot and spent everything for that purpose.

After the declaration by the Secretary of State that Orissa would be formed into a separate province and some time before his demise, I congratulated him on his signal success with the remark that it falls to the lot of very few patriots to find their work crowned with success.

His reply was "Atul Babu, I was lying in a hospital in Calcutta, bedridden and suffering from severe pain on account of enlarged prostrate gland, when the news of the Secretary of State's declaration reached me. Such was my exhilaration that I felt as if I took a bottle of alcohol and all my pains vanished at that time."

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(V)

REMINISCENCE OF NON-OFFICIALS

(1)

NO IDLE DREAMER

SATISH CHANDRA BOSE

The name of Mr. Madhusudan Das conjures up much, very much. It takes us back to a period in the early sixties of the last century when we find the mighty and rugged spirit moving in Calcutta in quest of learning and culture. We see him within the portals of the University of Calcutta, whose motto "Advancement of Learning " had fired the youthful imagination of the strange and adventurous youth who had already freed himself from the shackles and bondage of cramping custom and unreasoning conventionalities which, in those days, hung like a dead weight on Orissa. Years later, we find his mind and entire outlook on life transformed by long residence in Calcutta and intimate contact with the intellectual atmosphere of that place. We find him intellectually and in spirit a Bengalee, who lacked neither intellect, emotion nor imagination. In intimate touch with the flower of Bengalee culture and intellect, he imbibed the restless spirit of the intellectual adventure and of resistance to the forces of oppression and tyranny which marked the lives and activities of prominent Bengalees in those days. His own province of Orissa had in those days no more than a mere geographical existence to persons outside the province. But the change came and it came with Madhu Babu.

In the later seventies of the last century, we find him back to his own province, a lawyer by profession. He was however, much more than a mere lawyer. The lure of the Bar proved attractive but not too attractive for him. The spirit of resistance to evil, the innate urge to uplift his province and its inhabitants in the fields of commerce, industry and politics had already taken full possession of his virile mind. We find him organising and consolidating the dismembered parts

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of the Oriya-speaking tracts. resisting the forces of evil, combating the tyranny of the official tin-gods, focusing public opinion on matters of common welfare and creating a platform, when none existed, for the ventilation of the grievances of his own people. We find him since the last decade of the last century, staking all his material possessions in order to bring about the industrial reorganisation of his own province. The attempt and the deed were both heroic but it cost him the fortune and savings of a lifetime. Even in the midst of financial crash and ruin and stricken with age, he displayed the vigour of a Hercules till the last days of his life, in self-help and self-reliance.

Such was the man who made history for his own province and gave his all to Orissa but had no personal axe to grind.

In his attempt to remove the "Inferiority complex" which obsessed the minds of his own people, he never came into clash with either communities in Orissa. He tried to engender in the minds of his own people a spirit of healthy rivalry with the sister Bengalee community. There was no trace of hostility and bitterness in his relations with the said community.

Orissa's "sun" is set! He had given Orissa light and life which lit up the darkest corners of the province of Orissa.

(2)

ORISSA BEFORE THE NATION

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY MAHASAYA

Madhusudan Das lived like a lord and spent like a lord.

Poor people looked up to him as the only man whom they should go to when they were in trouble, I never knew a leader of man who had a stronger hold on the mass mind.

He was an intense lover of Orissa. His desire to serve his people exclusively was a bar to his taking part in Indian politics. The costly garden parties that he gave were never meant to show himself off, but to enhance the prestige of the place and the people.

His insolvency gave a shock of surprise to many people,. The Utkal Tannery, of which he was the proprietor, was valued at Rs.

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2,50,000 by the Subordinate Judge of Cuttack in Execution case No. 72 of 1926, and it was subsequently sold fir the 65,000. Thus a loss of Rs. 1,85,000 was incurred and it compelled him to apply for insolvency. If the Utkal Tannery could be sold for the price fixed by the Subordinate Judge, he would have been able to clear off all his debts.

I came into more intimate contact with him when I became the receiver of his estate. He was a loving soul with rather a rough exterior – a man absolutely free from dogmas but all the same a pious Christian. He was not the least perturbed by his insolvency, which he took as an act of God.

He died on the 4th of February, 1934, and was safe with gentle Jesus.

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(3)

MR. MADHUSUDAN DAS AS I SAW HIM

MR. PARAMANANDA DUTTA

Several blind men were asked to describe an elephant. One touched its leg and said that an elephant was like a palm tree . The second, who touched its tusk, said it was like a pike, the third, who touched its ear, said that an elephant was like winnow and another, who felt its tail only, said that an elephant was like a tuft of hair. They were right and yet they were wrong.

I have been asked to give my reminiscences of the late Mr. Madhusudan Das of hallowed memory and I need hardly say that my account will be like that of a blind man describing an elephant. In my younger days I saw him on numerous occasion closeted with my grandfather, the late Babu Moti Lal Ghosh, Editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. But at that time I had other interests than politics and journalism and hence took but little interest in the conversations that took place between them. It was in the days of the Swadeshi agitation in India that followed in the wake of the partition of Bengal.

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When after the death of Babu Moti Lal Ghosh his youngest brother the late Babu Gopal Lal Ghosh became the editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika the sweet relationship that formerly existed between the Ghosh brothers and Mr. Madhusudan Das was maintained and Gopal Babu and Mr. Das also met off and on.

One incident I still remember because I was personally concerned in it. It was at the time when Mr. Das had opened his Utkal Tannery with the object of advancing indigenous industries. Mr. Das and Moti Babu were discussing the industrial possibilities of the country in the room of the latter in the Amrita Bazar Patrika office. I happened to be walking in the verandah at that time. All of a sudden my grandfather called me and asked me : "Where from have you brought the pair of shoes you are wearing?" "From the National Tannery." said I. "Thirteen Rupees !" exclaimed grandfather, "that's too much. Look at my shoes. They cost me Rs. 2-4/- only. Why can't you buy shoes like these?" I replied, "Your shoes, sir, are made of canvas, generally worn by older people. And as to cost your shoes will last for two or three months, whereas mine which are all chrome will last for two years. Which is more economical, pray ?" At this my grandfather flared up and said "You have become very argumentative," and was adding some more adjectives when Mr. Das who was listening to the conversation all the time intervened and said with a smile, "Stop, stop, Moti Babu, why do you forget that these hairs are not grey ?" And pointed out his fingers at my head. This had the desired effect. My grandfather cooled down and I still remember that one sentence of Mr. Das with gratitude.

The conversation between Mr. Das and Moti Babu then went on. One need not be surprised the subject of conversation continued to be shoes and shoes only.

Lord Carmichael was then the Governor of Bengal. My grandfather had often to see him in connection with the then current political affairs. My grandfather said, "Well, Mr. Das, Lord Carmichael has a fad -- it is shoes. Not only has he a large number of shoes himself, but they are all shapely and clean and almost every time I go to see him will look askance at my canvas shoes. I don't think they are bad. They are soft. But shoes made of leather are hard. I cannot wear them."

Mr. Das enquired, "But have you tried the leather shoes of the

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Utkal Tannery ? On Moti Lal answering the question in the negative Mr. Das said, "very well I will send a man to take the measurement of your feet and present you with a pair of shoes made of leather which you will find to be softer than your canvas shoes."

A few days afterwards when Babu Moti Lal Ghosh was visiting Lord Carmichael, the latter found that Moti Lal was no longer wearing the old fashioned canvas shoes, but a pair of fine glossy glace kid shoes made by the Utkal Tannery. At home also he was found wearing a pair of slippers made by the same tannery. And he wore them long and every time we looked at them we were reminded of the giver, Mr. Madhusudan Das.

(4)

REMINISCENCES OF MY GURU

SWAMI BICHITRANANDA DAS

When I think of the late Mr. M.S. Das, my mind is filled with ecstasy; for in him I realised the ideal of my life. A man of great personality, a versatile genius, a successful lawyer, a veteran politician, a great industrialist, the father of the new Orissa and a Harishchandra of this age -- such was our Madhu Babu. I remember the greatness of his soul and his magnanimity that brought him to the brink of worldly ruin. I remember him as the inspire of souls and as a man whose soul thought and lived in a higher plane than those of ordinary mammon worshippers. The motto of his life was. "Fear no man but God." His fearless temperament earned for him the reputation of hard critic of the Government and of the oppressions and repressions of the men in power and yet he was one of the greatest constitutionalists of his age. He was a devoted Christian, not of the orthodox type but one who loved and followed Christ. He used to say, "Where in this world could I have a nobler personality than that of Christ ? Where is his parallel in the world, for he said in his hour of suffering and pain. 'Father forgive them : they know not what they do". I often narrated to him as a parallel the great sacrifice of Dadhichi Maharshi, who gave his life-bones for the manufacture of thunder in the holy

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war of the gods against the demons. As he preached so he lived, a noble example of sacrifice and suffering for his country. He was also a great Indian : as president of the All-India Christian Conference at Madras he said, "We are Indians first and Christians afterwards". Yet he was an Oriya out and out. He believed that Orissa presented problems that were typical of Indian problems and that in the uplift of his countrymen lay the progress of India. He gave up the promising and lucrative career in Calcutta when he lost his beloved and pious wife and left for Cuttack to devote his energies wholeheartedly to the service of his motherland. He belonged to the old school of politicians like Surendra Nath Banerjee Gokhale, Ranade and Dadabhai Naoroji, and believed that Providence linked the fate of India with England with a purpose. He was proud of English institutions and of his English friends, but he stood fearlessly against them when his country's cause required opposition.

He was a great conversationalist. He could inspire men and touch their hearts. When he talked his eyes brightened, he could pierce into the very core of hearts, he could enthuse. The greatness of a man shine in his little acts and not in spectacular shows...

At his 29th year his partner of life, the noble divinity who nursed and fed the poor, had left him. It was the wish of God. In those days men of his education were wanting among the Hindus of Calcutta and also among the Christian community. Offers of a beautiful wife and dowry of Rs. 50,000 came from many quarters. Yet he remembered the brethren of the land of his birth, how they were suffering in the grip of ignorance and poverty. He decided in the name of the partner of his life to relieving the distress of the poor, in bringing the light of education and learning to his countrymen. He left Calcutta and came to live the life of a worker in Orissa.

An incident I will relate, which showed how great and magnanimous was his heart. It was during the later days of his life, just after he had applied for insolvency. His love of industry cast him into debt and he had to undergo trials and tribulations of an insolvency proceeding. It was about 8 O'clock in the evening. An erstwhile rich but now impoverished gentleman came to him for help. He opened his box, he had Rs. 50 left to him. With tears gliding down his cheek he said, "What have I got now to give you ? This is all I have, please do take ", and placed the notes in his hands.

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Another incident before his death though a small one, shows how greatly he felt for his suffering fellow-men. It was a week before his death. He got a remittance of Rs. 800. That was all he had. He directed at once that a tube-well should be sunk in fishermen's quarters of the town, which are always infected when any epidemic is on. This was done. Like Maharaja Harishchandra he gave his all to his fellow-men. Like Christ he loved them and suffered for them.

(5)

MADHU BABU – AN ORIYA AS WELL AS AN INDIAN

GOPABANDHU CHOWDHRY

I was a boy of nine reading in a High School. I had seen and heard of Madhu Babu, but I do not remember to have enjoyed any personal contact with him before that. One morning as usual we were all astir as Madhu Babu had come to our house. Unless called by my father to his presence, we used to satisfy ourselves with mere glimpses of him. That day he suddenly put me a question pointing to a wooden safe that was standing nearby, "What is that ?" I replied "It is a safe ". " Tell me what is a safe. Define a safe." I gave some definitions which could well be applied to a wooden box or to a wooden almirah. Then he explained to us how we should be very particular in knowing things and defining them properly. That was an ideal lesson on "analysis and synthesis" and though that is the first reminiscence of that great personality yet it is one which I treasure in my mind with no small gain to my own growth...

I was a grown up young man. I was once on a visit to the Utkal Tannery. Mr. Das showed us round and personally explained to us the uses of the different machines and practically worked with his own hands to show how a piece of hide is changed into a pair of soft leather. Then followed one of the finest sermons on the development of our hands and how the hands and how the hands make a man. This practical sermon deepened that faint picture in my young mind of Mr. Das or our Oriya artisans Madhu Babu...

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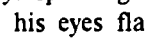
It was several years after— a year or so before his passing away. By a special messenger I was called to his presence. It was after a long time that I was seeing him. I saw him a wreck of his former self. He was sitting crumpled up in a chair and there was nothing in him of the old Madhu Babu except the eyes and the voice. The first announcement by Government about the formation of a separate Oriya province had been made. We talked over this announcement for about an hour. His was a passionate appeal to all Oriyas to realise the necessity of making the separate province a success. I distinctly remember how the story of his own lifelong exertions for the amalgamation of various Oriya-speaking tracts brought blood into his languishing frame and how his eyes flashed fire. I remember how in spite of his desire each and every Oriya should join in making the separate province a success, he was not forgetful of the fact that Orissa was a part of India and that Oriyas had something to do for the existence of India as well.



(6)

MADHUSUDAN DAS OF CUTTACK – A TRUE STATESMAN

SARALADEVI CHAUDHURANI

From the deep memory out of the dim shadows of the past the figure of a man rises to life with his unique personality.

To begin with Mr. Madhusudan Das struck me as a curious Christian missionaries and their converts I could discern in him. He was as broad-minded as any born Hindu should be. He acceded to others their individual ways to realisation while accepting for himself the was by Christ. His simplicity of life, his veneration for his mother and the many other Hindu qualities in him made endeared to his compatriots who were not his co-regionalists.

I was warned that he was a Bengalee-hater . I could not reconcile this charge with his adoption of a Bengalee girl as his daughter and his acting as a benefactor to all the members of that family. Moreover

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I found most of the domiciled Bengalees of Cuttack were his respected personal friends. I discovered it was not that he loved Orissa and Oriyas more and that his love and admiration for the Bengalees emulated him in his desire to bring the Oriyas up to their level. He had the insight and acumen of a true statesman. He was a man of imagination and a man of action withal. Not only Orissa but India should honour him and give him a place in the hierarchy of its true patriots.

(7)

MR. DAS AS A HOST

MRS. SARALA BALA MITTER

I was about to settle down comfortably with the morning paper, when I was shocked and deeply grieved at the news which suddenly caught my eye, i.e., the Hon'ble Madhusudan Das of Orissa dead ! Though it was not quite unexpected, as he was advanced in years and ailing for some time, yet I could not reconcile myself to the sad news. Was it possible that our dear "Dada", as we called him, has passed away for ever ? Knowing full well that death terminates life, and the soul passes away to unknown domains, we are loath to part with those whom we love and revere, and cling to them the more as age advances.

I first had the pleasure of the acquaintance of the Hon'ble Mr. Das in Calcutta , before that I had known him only by name and fame. His amiable disposition and affectionate ways attracted me at once and made me feel quite at home, so that I had not the least hesitation in calling him "Dada" as a near relation.

It was in 1906 that I accompanied "Dada" and his daughter to Bombay on our way to England, where we were proceeding for study. Dada only went down as far as Bombay to see us off, and we spent a week there sight seeing. With what solicitude and kindness he showed and explained all to me, I shall never forget. He was of strict principles, and a certain amount of sternness was blended with gentleness, which those who could not fathom, have not been able to fully appreciate in that great man. His childlike heart was full of

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tenderness and ever ready to allay human-suffering. "Dada" was very hard-working and diligent. When in England, he often used to sit at work till 2 a.m., but the next morning he was up at the usual time and at his usual place. When asked how he managed to work so hard and live on such little subsistence, he laughed gently and said, "I always feel better with little food".

An octogenarian -- he still worked with the energy of youth and threw himself heart and soul into all kinds of public work, which he considered to be a duty. If remonstrated by his daughter for over-working himself, he replied that work was a pleasure to him. His mental abilities were far ahead of his physical capacity, so he never lost heart.

He was a typical example of what a strong mind was capable of performing in the field of work. Hospitality was one of his chief characteristics. Amidst his heavy work, he would still find time to be regularly present at meals with his guests to see for himself that nothing was wanting.

I cannot refrain from mentioning a little incident which touched me greatly while I was at Cuttack and became his guest for a day. In 1910 while on my way to Calcutta I halted at Cuttack for a couple of days with a friend of mine to fulfil a promise I had given her some time previously. Naturally I called on Mr. Das, but to my disappointment he was away, so I left my card with the servant. Early next morning while I was still in deep sleep, I was aroused by my friend saying, "Get up, get up, Mr. Das has honoured me with a visit for your sake. Go and see him." I got up hastily and heard "Dada" calling me. When we met he said, "Well, how is it that you did not let me know that you were coming to Cuttack ? Come now with me. I came straight here from the railway station, as soon as the servant showed me your card. Come, we shall have our tea at home." I was hesitating what to do, when my hostess promptly gave her permission, and I went off with "Dada". At tea he pressed various kinds of fruits and sweets and other eatables on me, which he had just brought from Calcutta. "Never mind the usual breakfast," he said, "have these now". I replied, "But 'Dada', you do not take anything yourself, how can you press so much on others ?" Where upon he laughingly launched upon amusing anecdotes of several persons who thought nothing of eating so many dozens of mangoes and jack-fruits or so many seers of sweets at one sitting. He was very witty and would thoroughly enjoy a good joke.

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VI

TRIBUTES AND REMINISCENCE OF BRITISHERS

(1)

TRIBUTES TO A PERSONAL FRIEND

MAURICE G. HALLET

1. On the inauguration of the Constitution of 1919 Mr. Madhusudan Das was appointed Minister of Self-Government in the province of Bihar and Orissa. It was a heavy portfolio, especially during the early years of the new Constitution, for the Minister, apart from being responsible for the public health and medical relief throughout the province, was faced with the duty of amending the Municipal and Local Self-Government Acts so as to make them more consistent with democratic principles. It was a task of which many younger men might have fought shy, but Mr. Das, though well advanced in years, threw himself into the work with zeal, vigour and enthusiasm. I was Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa during this period and having in this position to work directly under Mr. Das I can claim to have intimate knowledge of his work. He never spared himself, and dealt with the greatest care with the problems which came before him. He was, I think, particularly interested in problems of medical relief and public health, for he had studied medicine in his younger days. I will quote one instance. Plague was a disease from which Mr. Das's native land of Orissa has fortunately been free ; he realised, however, it was still a menace in Bihar, though not to the same extent as 10 or 15 years earlier, and he set himself to become personally acquainted with the problem of how to deal with that disease which was still prevalent, in particular, in parts of Gaya district. In the middle of the hot weather he visited plague-stricken villages in that district and thereby got first-hand knowledge of that epidemic and also of the step which were being taken to deal with it.

2. The members of the new Legislative Council showed themselves keenly interested in medical relief and public health ; they recognised the necessity of providing more hospitals in rural areas

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; they appreciated the fact that the public health organisation of the province was defective and inadequate to deal with the constantly recurring epidemic of cholera, malaria and plague; while not depreciating the value of Western system of medicine they wished also to develop and improved the indigenous system. In dealing with these problems they had a keen and enthusiastic leader in their Minister, Mr. Das. Political critics tend to overlook and to depreciate the work of the Councils set up by the British Government, as the first step towards responsible Government and the services of the Ministers who undertook the duty of administering the transferred departments have often not received adequate recognition. Historians of the future will, I feel sure, see the events of these years in their true perspective and will recognise that it was not those who followed the barren and sterile policy of noncooperation who paved the way for further advance, but those who like Mr. Das and his supporters recognised the great opportunities which they had of furthering the political progress of India. Their work also had practical results and from my experience of these years I can assert that in the province of Bihar and Orissa great advances were made and much was done to deal with that terrible problem, the alleviation of human suffering.

3. It will be out of place for me to describe at length the long discussions which took place over the two Bills which were introduced by Mr. Das to amend the Municipal and Local Self-Government Acts. This, again, was no easy problem ; on the one hand there were those who in their anxiety to make local self-governing bodies completely responsible wished to free these bodies from all control even control ,by responsible Ministers ; on the other hand, there were those who viewed with the gravest apprehension the transfer of power to untrained and inexperienced administrators. The Acts, as finally placed on the Statute Book, speak for themselves, and I think those who study them will say that they are a satisfactory compromise between these two opposing views. Much of the credit for this useful legislation must be given to Mr. Das.

4. To strike a more personal note, I shall always remember with the greatest pleasure my association with Mr. Das. Difference of opinion between a Minister, trained in the school of politics, and a Secretary, brought up to regard "efficiency" as all important, are inevitable ; in fact such differences are healthy. But I always found

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Mr. Das ready to listen with sympathy and attention to the views which I or other officers, with whom he was brought in contact, put forward, and if we were successful in solving his doubts and removing his difficulties he would be ready to reconsider his opinion and support proposals which he had previously condemned. Work in such an atmosphere of friendly cooperation cannot but be pleasant. Mr. Das has often been good enough to express his appreciation of such services as I was able to render him when he held the office of Minister. I am glad to have this opportunity of reciprocating that appreciation and of paying a tribute to one whom I always regarded as a personal friend— and of giving some indication, inadequate though it may be, of the services which he rendered to his country and his province during the period for which he held the office of Minister. I have not referred to other periods of his long life or to his other numerous activities. During the whole of that long life, he devoted himself to raising the status of his native land of Orissa and to improving the position of his fellow countrymen. Though he did not live to see the actual inauguration of the new province of Orissa, yet it must have been a great satisfaction to him before he died to know that the ideal, for which he had striven so long and so earnestly, was about to be realised and that Orissa was to become one of the units of the great Indian Federation.

(2)

MY OLDEST INDIAN FRIEND

HUGH MACPHERSON

With the exception of Mr. Jnanendra Nath Gupta, I.C.S., Bengal, whom I knew in my Oxford days, the late Mr. Madhusudan Das was my oldest Indian friend. I made his acquaintance soon after I joined my first appointment as Assistant Magistrate of Cuttack in December, 1891. It was characteristic of his sturdy independence of mind that early in his life he had embraced Christianity in the face of much opposition and persecution from his Hindu relations and friends. As an Indian Christian lawyer with a large practice at the local Bar, he

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was on friendly terms with the European officers of the station, amongst whom he was noted for his hospitality and for his patronage of local industries, in particular of the silver filigree work for which Cuttack is famed...

My acquaintance with Mr. Das very nearly had a tragic ending for me early in my Indian career. He kept in his stables good horses, one of which had been the charger of a Falstaffian Colonel of the Madras Regiment stationed at Cuttack in those days, and till 1905 an active cantonment. This horse had a reputation for bolting but could be charmed by Mr. Das with pieces of sugar cane. I was rash enough to ride him once on returning from an expedition to Khandagiri with my Collector, Mr. George Stevenson, and party. The sugar cane trick did not work as I mounted; the rest I knew was when I awoke 48 hours later to find the Civil Surgeon, Colonel Zorab, by my bedside—the horse had impaled himself on the back shaft of a bullock cart somewhere between Chandhar bungalow and the Katjuri river, and I had been thrown on to the metalled road, but saved by a stout topee. Mr. Das were deeply concerned over my accident and came to see me daily till I recovered. He would never hear of any compensation for the loss of his horse.

There were two causes that were always peculiarly dear to the heart of Mr. Das. One was the welfare of the cultivating raiyat, the other was the independence of Orissa. Although he was the retained legal adviser of many Orissa Chiefs and Zamindars of the Mogubandi, he never wavered in his support of the cultivator's rights. After I left Orissa in 1894 in the Santal Parganas, I lost touch with Mr. Das, till I was again brought into contact with the agrarian problems of Orissa as Director of Land Records in 1907-12. Orissa tenancy law, which up to then had been linked with the Bengal Tenancy Act, came under extensive review during the revision settlement operations of that period, and, after long deliberation in the Bengal Legislative Council during the winter session of 1911-12 and again in the new Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council of following year, the Orissa Tenancy Act (B & O Act II of 1913) was passed, conferring on the sub-province the boon of self-agrarian code. Mr. Das was a member of both these Councils and took a prominent part in the proceedings. When any question arose affecting the rights and interests of the cultivators, he always championed their cause.

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My next intimate contact with Mr. Das was made when he became my colleague in the Government of Bihar and Orissa as a Minister under the first Reforms in 1921. His tenure of office was marked by the passing of the 'B & O'. Municipal and Local Self-Government Acts and I had his close cooperation when piloting the Village Administration Bill through the Council. He resigned his office as Minister in 1923 , but continued to be a member of the Legislative Council till a much later date.

Throughout his public life, Mr. Das stood up for the rights of Orissa as against what he deemed to be the encroachments of Bengal and Bihar. He did not live to see his championship on an independent Orissa crowned with success, but this happy consummation followed soon after his passing at the ripe old age of 85 and the new province of Orissa remains his most eloquent memorial.

(3)

AN APPRECIATION

COURTNEY TERRELL

Madhusudan Das was one of the rarest products of Indian social life for he loved his fellow-men. His moral and intellectual stature was far higher than that of his countrymen and his whole life was devoted not to the emphasis of that fact, nor to realising a personal ambition based on his superiority, but to the effort to raise his people to a higher level. And yet rarer was the vision which enabled him to see that this ideal could best be achieved by effecting improvement in their material welfare. He had a practical sense of reality and strove valiantly against the mental darkness (and what is to many others the hopeless conservatism) of Orissa. He saw that these people had qualities which, if their minds would only permit, could raise them to a happier life and he struggled with the obstinacy which binds them hand and foot. His life was an heroic conflict with the Oriya demons of sloth and stupidity, and the Oriya devils of jealousy and intrigue for the rescue of an Oriya nation. He was a very brave man, for he realised the strength of his adversaries and yet strove undaunted. He

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had a great faith, for he never doubted the ultimate reality of the ideal for which he fought.

The transparent purity of his motives is best shown in his private letters some of which are revealed in this book. He pours out his heart in wise counsel to those whom he loved and cherished. In advising then he could have had no object other than their success and happiness in life. I am convinced that his attitude towards his people was no less sincere.

In the realisation that material prosperity could come only from industry and practical effort and was no matter of political catchwords he was far in advance of his people and his age. His courage in undertaking industrial enterprise for the common good, ill equipped as he was with technical knowledge and disinterested assistance, was very wonderful. His very failures should be a source of inspiration for the future.

It is remarkable that he should have been able from the first to see the truth that no salvation is to be found by wandering in the clouds of metaphysics and the fogs of literary speculations but that the people must turn their minds outwards practical achievement.

I have lost a very dear friend who kept alive in me a faltering faith when my mind was assailed by doubts whether any improvement in the lot of the Indian people would or could ever be attained by their own efforts or indeed by help from without. The best memorial which Orissa can rise will be the fulfilment of the ideal of the Oriya character which he hoped to call into existence.

(4)

MY LITTLE CONTRIBUTION

T.S. MAGPHERSON

From more than a decade I pressed Mr. Madhusudan Das both verbally and in letters to write his autobiography or at least to leave materials for an adequate biography ; but in spite of all insistence that it would be of intense interest to the public and of high value to the statesmen, lawyers and educationists who would succeed him in Orissa, he too modestly believed that no one would read it.

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It was in 1910 when I was the District Judge of Cuttack that my friendship with M.S. Das began. (He was always " M.S. Das " in English and " Madhu Babu " in Oriya) He was then at the top his vigour and facile princeps in Orissa at the Bar, in politics and in popular estimation and he had become C.I.E. in 1904 in recognition of his public services. In particular he possessed much influence with the rulers of the Orissa Feudatory States the oversight of which had since 1905 made the Commissioner of Orissa the most important official under the Government of Bengal.

I had reason to be grateful to him then for much general help which he accorded very willingly and which his pre-eminent position at the Bar made valuable. In his advocacy he was very tenacious and on points of law and fact very shrewd and acute. In later years he appeared in my Court in district Sambalpur and at the High Court Bar both in Patna and in Cuttack, and had a considerable measure of success in what at first sight appeared to be quite unpromising appeals. At the Circuit Court at Cuttack for the establishment of which the credit is largely due to him, he became, specially in recent years, 'an institution' ; the Circuit Court would somehow have seemed defective if it had not opened and closed with complimentary speeches from Mr. Das. He was also in a position to indicate numerous little ways of making the business of the Court run smoothly.

M.S. Das often spoke to me of his educational career and early struggles, and of the great men he had met at that time, and also of his work in the Legislative Council both at Calcutta and in Bihar and Orissa, specially during the passing of the Orissa Tenancy Act. Others will be better able to deal with those epochs as he was only for a short time a member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council while I was Secretary. It was after he became first Minister of Local Self-Government in 1921 that I saw most of him. As a protagonist of Orissa and a very able and experienced public man he was obviously the Oriya to be appointed to the newly constituted Ministry for Bihar and Orissa. When I congratulated him on his appointment, he wrote that he would preserve my letter as an additional proof of the cordiality which he had always experienced from my wife and myself and for its valuable sentiments, and added : " I hope God will guide me in the new sphere of life so that I may prove worthy of the congratulations with which kind friends have honoured me." In long evenings which

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he spent with me at Patna, the new work on which he was engrossed was his chief subject. He was lost in admiration of the work of his Secretary and staff generally. My apprehension was that he was attempting to go too deeply into subjects of all degrees of importance, traversing huge files from bottom to stop when he might with perfect safety have confined himself to the Secretary's note and the flagged papers. He certainly took the work of his Department extremely seriously, specially the new Municipal and Local Self-Government Acts with which his name will always be associated.

Writing in 1927 when I was confined in the High Court, he said : "I do not wish to congratulate you. I congratulate Orissa on the new appointment. You know Orissa. We have suffered much in the past owing to the ignorance of the real state of things here on the part of those at the head of the administration." Orissa was ever foremost in his thoughts, his dreams, his words and actions.

As an exponent of the rights and difficulties of Orissa, M.S. Das was not to be suppressed, and in his early days the Government of Bengal was constrained to give serious attention to his views and suggestions. In some instances he had to revise his opinions, and that he did without hesitation, but in the main, his original views cannot but commend themselves as sound, and strong expression of them was necessary and was as is usual in such cases, discounted. No one could say that he lacked courage. He had much to contend with enmity such a man could not fail to arouse and the opponents who hampered his statesmanship most were at times his own people, but he held on his course, determined that Orissa should rise again and that the Oriyas should advance and attain self-sufficiency. In this connection the schools and especially the Ravenshaw College were important auxiliaries. Mr. Das was deeply interested in education and took up with excellent effect the lectureship in law when he saw that most Oriya students had been unsuccessful. Time fails to set out his wide interests. He was an Examiner of the Calcutta University in Oriya, Secretary to the Freemasons' Lodge at Cuttack, a prominent member of the Indian Christian community and a stalwart supporter of the of the Ravenshaw Girl's School, while on behalf of Miss Hazra he organised the attack in the Patna High Court on the exclusion of women from the legal profession. Indeed he helped to advance every good cause. If he had done nothing more than start his business in silver work and the

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Utkal Tannery, he would have merited the gratitude of his race. They were primarily intended as contributions to the industrial development of Orissa and they certainly provided work to many Oriyas who would otherwise have had to leave their homeland. The eventual failure in the difficult post-war period came as a heavy blow to M.S. Das in his old age. He struggled splendidly to rehabilitate them, and I think the proudest moment of his life was when he was discharged from his insolvency with the judge's expression of sympathy for his misfortune and he proudly wrote to me that if he was poor he was at least without a slur on his reputation. I have always felt the same sympathy for him as for Sir Walter Scott in a similar financial embarrassment.

I should be ungrateful if I had failed to acknowledge the assistance received from M.S. Das in the perennial struggle against corruption in the mofussil Courts. He insisted that it could only be eliminated whether as regards the ministerial staff, or as regards the moral tone of the Bar against the less reputable members of the profession who act as intermediaries.

M.S. Das was a great man in his day and generation. To him pre-eminently is due the fact that Orissa, instead of remaining a neglected province of Bengal with a sullen and discontented intelligentsia, has become a province of the Indian Empire containing the great majority of British Oriyas and looking forward with hope and confidence to managing its own affairs and it is satisfactory to know that though it is not given to him to be present as an honoured guest at the inauguration of Orissa on the 1st April, 1936, he had in his last days a near view of the promised land. In the days to come Orissa will count this ardent, humorous, abstemious, patriotic son among the chiefest of her benefactors.

(5)

A PIONEER IN MANY FIELDS

S.B. DHAVLE

Being on circuit, I was a member of the Bench before which a reference was made to the death of Mr. Madhusudan Das by Rai

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Bahadur Janaki Nath Bose on behalf of the Cuttack Bar, in the Circuit Court at Cuttack. Mr. Justice James on that occasion referred in the bar extremely well-chosen words to Mr. Das's great versatility as educationist, industrialist, advocate, statesman, and that with distinction in each sphere. He also said that he could not remember a time when Mr. Das was not known as the Grand Old Man of Orissa. I came to know Mr. Das a little later than Mr. Justice James, and shortly after my first posting to the district to officiate as Collector, and a couple of months afterwards as District and Sessions Judge. Mr. Das was then twice my age and had already made his mark in so many spheres of life, and was well known not only in Orissa and Bengal but, I believe, all over the country. When, some years afterwards he became our first Minister under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, my work as Secretary to the new Legislative Council brought me into closer contact with in the earlier years of his public life, and of many a talk he had with the late Mr. G.K. Gokhale, with whom he had worked in the Imperial Legislative Council. Mr. Das's talks were remarkable for the selfless patriotism and faith that permeated his whole being and were enlivened by a rare humour. I have heard him give more than one happy quotation from Persian and recite not only Oriya but also Bengali poetry composed by himself. No task, however novel, seemed to deter him and the representation that he drew up in order to show that there was nothing in our law to prevent a lady graduate in Law from being allowed to join the profession, gave unmistakable evidence of his lifelong habits of research and his adoption of the motto of being thorough. He was a man of a large heart; not only was his charity in the shape of doles to the needy unbounded but the many battles that he had to fight in public life left no bitter memories, and it was easy to see that his practical Christianity made an essentially forgiving man of him. His vision was wide, and if he was well ahead of the times in which he had to live, he was determined to carry the people with him instead of selfishly devoting himself to the work of amassing wealth, or lazily dreaming dreams ---political dreams for the future--- without stirring his little finger to make realities of them. He was a pioneer in many fields and at a public meeting in the Town Hall in Cuttack referred to himself as a "back number " because he had taken his Degree at the Calcutta University over 50 years previously. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar, who

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was in the chair on the occasion, neatly turned the tables on him by quoting a couple of verses from the 10th chapter of the Gita and showing how the first Oriya graduate had maintained his first place in the manifold activities of his later public life. He was a born fighter or he would not have taken up so many problems that an average man would have put away as hopeless. His own health he mastered to an incredible degree by means of a strong will and a remarkable control over his diet. I remember how at one of the meetings of the Select Committee on the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill of 1921 we got him in the recess to turn out his pockets for his lunch to find a few grains of puffed rice which he told us was all the solid food he permitted himself to take in those days. And yet with such a diet he was working 15 or 16 hours a day at the age of 72 or 73 and regularly taking his daily walk of 4 or 5 miles. Misfortune overtook him later on which he met with singular vigour and fortitude, and one could not help being struck by the stout heart that he carried in a frail body. His ideas were cast in a large mould, and his unceasing labours for the uplift to Utkal are at last beginning to bear fruit, though alas, he passed away too soon to see Orissa a separate province.

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(6)

THE PROTAGONIST OF ORISSA

C.L. PHILIP

I had not the pleasure of meeting Mr. Das personally till I was posted to Cuttack as Commissioner of the Orissa Division in 1930. But from the date of my first advent to Orissa I had been given cause to appreciate the esteem with which Mr. Das was regarded by his compatriots. He was the man to whom all Oriyas looked as the protagonist of Orissa, the one hope of the restoration of its former glories. The fact that those who spoke of his activities almost with bated breath, were sometimes very vague in their ideas of these ancient glories, did not and could not detract from the sincerity of their enthusiasm about the man who they believed, was to restore them and place Orissa as a single and complete unit on the map of India.

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I could not therefore fail to form a mental picture of Mr. Das as of someone heroic, physically and mentally. My first meeting with him was therefore somewhat of a disappointment. He was then a small and old man and did not give one the feeling that his frail body could contain the spirit of a hero and patriot. But that first impression was soon corrected by the realisation that even at the age of 80 that frail body was dominated by a mind which was ever working and fighting to obtain for the Oriyas a recognition of their right to an independent seat in the Councils of the Indian Empire.

It was this spirit which had animated him throughout his life and enabled him to work to the last, in spite of bodily infirmities which would have daunted a lesser man. In the closing years it seemed probable that his dream of a united and separate Orissa province might materialise, and there was much coming and going of the younger leaders of various parts of the country. But none moved without first consulting their acknowledged premier. If asked what their next step was to be the usual answer was that they were just going to consult Mr. Das and could not say what they would do till they had obtained his advice.

His idealism was tempered by shrewd common sense and an acute perception of possibilities with the ability to make use of them. He was not one of those who aspire to reach the topmost heights but take no heed of the necessity to plan and cut out each difficult step which has to be taken to reach them. Painstaking endeavour coupled with a single purpose carried him to his goal, and though it took many long years to reach, he never relaxed his efforts to reach it. A strong sense of humour, and a very human perception of the shortcomings of all human beings including himself, helped to sustain him even when he seemed to have failed for the time being : he knew that he could afford a smile, for experience had taught him that his end might be gained by another line of approach and so he cheerfully sought one out and proceeded to attack by it.

With his main ideal achieved his life peacefully closed. He lived to know that his ideal had been achieved, and though he did not actually see the new province of Orissa come into independent being, he had the supreme satisfaction of knowing that his labours had been crowned with success. His own task in bringing it into being was finished. Its growth he could contentedly leave to younger men in

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the belief that they would work as earnestly and wholeheartedly for its welfare as he himself had done for its creation.

(7)

A HISTORIC FIGURE

D.E. REUBEN

I have heard with great sorrow of the death of Mr. Madhusudan Das, which has removed from our midst a historic figure and an eminent lawyer. My acquaintance with Mr. Das began in 1919, when I was Assistant Magistrate at Cuttack. He appeared only once in my Court, but I remember being struck by the outstanding ability with which he placed his case, bringing out with full force the strongest points in his own story and exposing the weak points in that of the other side. The case was a smile one, as it would be in the Court of a Second Class magistrate but Mr. Das had evidently given it a lot of time and thought.

This method of dealing with every case that he undertook was characteristic of Mr. Das, as I discovered when I renewed my acquaintance with him in 1928. My Das was a very conscientious man, and felt that he was not giving full value, unless he gave his client the best that he was capable of. He never appeared in my Court in any case in which he was not thoroughly acquainted with the whole record, and in which he had not studied the relevant law in all its aspects. When I met Mr. Das for the second time he was an old man. In spite of this, he used to put more work into his cases than any other lawyer that I have known.

The energy of the man was amazing. When he was over 80 years, he would stand up in a Court and argue for hours without faltering and without becoming inaudible or indistinct. To the end his brain remained crystal clear. I particularly remember one appeal in which he appeared before me. It was an ordinary case of riot, with the object of taking possession of some land that was in dispute. Before coming in Court I glanced at the record. The case appeared to be an easy one and I wondered what it would be possible to urge in

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favour of the appellants. Mr. Das appeared for the appellants. He did not waste time over the facts but made a brilliant argument on the right of private defence. His speech for the appellants lasted for about an hour and a half, and at the end of it I was wondering how I could have thought there was nothing to be said for the appellants.

Financial troubles drove Mr. Das to the Insolvency Court, but nothing could quell his indomitable spirit. The universal respect with which the man was regarded appeared even in the behaviour of his creditors. If I remember right, only one of them persisted in the application, the others being willing--nay anxious--to give up their claims if this one creditor could be persuaded to drop the matter. During the pendency of the case the High Court gave Mr. Das a certain allowance out of his earnings, ordering that any earnings beyond that amount should go to his creditors. A smaller man might have taken advantage of this order to confine his earnings to his allowance. Not so Mr. Das. He did all the work that he was capable of and gave to his creditors what they were entitled to under the order of the High Court.

Socially, Mr. Das was a prominent figure. His personal attainments and his sense of humour made him an interesting and amusing companion. Of what he has done for Orissa there are many who are more qualified to speak than I am. He was a man that Orissa can rightly be proud of. In him I have lost a personal friend for whom I had a great regard.

(8)

WHO IS GOING TO TAKE UP HIS MANTLE ?

G.E. FAWCUS

It is indeed sad that though Mr. Madhusudan Das lived to so great an age, he just failed to see Orissa become in independent province. I suppose that there are few people who think that Orissa would have reached this status so soon if it had not been for his work.

It is probably true that Mr. Das was interested more in the economic advancement of his country than in its educational progress.

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He was however keenly interested in the latter and in particular, in the education of girls, as shown by the way in which he educated Miss Das with a view to her taking up work in that cause. It is one of the ironies of fate that his industrial enterprises failed, in spite of the beautiful workmanship of which Oriya workmen are capable. But education in Orissa has made great strides, and I know how glad Mr. Das was to see the steady progress of the Ravenshaw College and the Ravenshaw Girl's School, to mention only two of the institutions in which he took a special interest.

Orissa lost with Mr. Madhusudan Das an outstanding personality. Weak in body, he was strong in faith and determination, and, though he was an indefatigable worker, he never lost his sense of humour. Who is going to take up his mantle in the new Orissa ?

(9)

MARVELLOUS AND SAINTLY MAN

HENRY W. NEVINSON

I came to Orissa in the autumn of 1907 in answer to a heart-rending appeal from Mr. Madhusudan Das, a highly educated man, though belonging to the ancient and separate Oriya race, which understands no human though but its own, and whose script looks like a wire-netting of circular hoops. He called himself a Christian also, though his faith was founded rather upon Christ than upon Roman Catholic. Anglican or Nonconformist doctrines. For it was founded simply upon Christ's one prayer, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do". "The man who could utter that prayer while dying under torture was divine," he often said to me. " the Moment I heard that prayer I recognised the truth, and I have never doubted it since."

His unlimited generosity and a passionate sympathy with his own people had gained for himself some of sanctity's privileges during his own lifetime. I have seen a man suffering from a frightful running sore entreat him for the loan of the eighth part of a penny that he might touch the sore with it and be healed. Another cause with a

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brass bowl imploring Mr. Das to dip his finger into the water that his wife might be delivered from her dangerous labour, and the moment he dipped his finger in, the child was safely born. Association with such a man was like a return to those enviable Middle Ages, when the laws of Nature were not so stiff and obstinate as to refuse compliance with wishes of holiness.

Mr. Das accompanied me through the district of Orissa lately devastated by floods which had brought down depths of sand which covered the fields and killed all the rice crops, leaving the 300,000 population in a state of starvation and extreme misery.

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APPENDIX : 1

NATIONAL AWAKENING IN ORISSA

AUROVINDO GHOSE

[In an editorial essay titled 'The Awakening in Gujerat' in the 17th December, 1907 issue of weekly paper 'Vande Mataram' Aurovindo Ghose (later Sri Aurobindo) had discussed the emergence of national consciousness in the politically backward regions of India in general and Gujarat in particular. While discussing Pan-Indian scenerio, he had commented on the awakening of national consciousness in Orissa under the able leadership of Madhusudan Das, without mentioning his name.

Most of the biographers of Madhusudan have quoted from this article from secondary sources and sometimes misquoted it. To apprise about the exact text and context of the article the relevant extract is being reprinted here. It had been published in the 'Sri Aurobindo Birth Ceremony Library Vol. I' (Early Political Writing, P. 644-45)]

When the word of the Eternal has gone abroad, when the spirit moves over the waters and the waters stir and life begins to form, then it is a law that all energies are forced to direct themselves, consciously or uncosciously, willingly or against their will, to the one supreme work of the time, the formatinon of the new manifest and organised life which is in process of creation. So now when the waters of a people's life are stirred and the formation of a great organic Indian state and nation has begun, the same law holds. All that the adversaries of the movement have done whether they have tried to repress or tried to conciliate, has helped what they sought to destroy and swelled the volume and strength or purified as by fire the forces of Nationalism. So also the efforts of those among ourselves who are afraid of the new movement or distrustful of it to check the pace and bring back the nation's energies into the old grooves, have only hoped to increase the vehemence of the National desire to move forward ... Nationalism depends for its success on the awakening and organising of the whole strength of the nation; it is therefore vitally important for Nationalism that the politically backward classes should be awakened and brought into the current of political life ; the great mass of orthodox Hinduism which was hardly even touched by

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the old Congress movement, the great slumbering mass of Islam which has remained politically inert throughout the last century, the shopkeepers, the artisan class, the immense body of illiterate and ignorant peasantry, the submerged classes, even the wild tribes and races still outside the pale of Hindu civilisation, Nationalism can afford to neglect and omit none. It rejoices to see any sign of life where there was no life before, even if the first manifestations should seem to be ill-regulated or misguided, it is not afraid of Pan-Islamism or any signs of the growth of a separate Mahomedan self-consciousness but rather welcomes them. It is not started by the spectacle of a submerged class like the Namasudras demaning things which are, under existing circumstances, impracticable from Hindu society. When a community sues for separate rights from the bureaucracy, that is a sign not of life but of stagnant dependence which is death, but when it seeks a larger place in the national existence and it tries to feel its own existence and its own strength, it is a true sign of life, and what Nationalism asks is for life first and above all things; life, and still more life, is its cry. Let us by every means get rid of the pall of death which stifled us, let us dispel first the passivity, quiescence, the unspeakable oppression of inertia which has so long been our curse; that is the first and imperative need. As with backward communities, so with backward provinces. It is vitally important to Nationalism that these should awake. Behar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Gujerat, Sindh must take their place in the advancing surge of Indian political life, must prepare themselves for a high rank in the future federated strength of India. We welcome any signs that the awakening has begun. It is for instance a cause of gratification that Orissa is beginning to feel its separate consciousness, and to attempt to grow into an organised life under capable and high-spirited leader, although we consider his political attitude mistaken and believe that he is laying up for himself bitter disappointment and disillusionment in the future. But when the inevitable disappointment and disillusionment come, then will the new political consciousness, the new organised life of Orissa become an immense addition of strength to the forces of Nationalism. Yet it remains true that the only way these provinces can make up for lost time and bring themselves up swiftly to the level of the more advanced races, is by throwing themselves whole-heartedly into the full tide of Nationalism...

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APPENDIX : 2

MADHUSUDAN DAS

(Letters and comments)

MAHATMA GANDHI

[After a successful fight against apartheid in South Africa Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in India during the first world war. At that time Madhusudan was an old man of sixty seven years and had earned a name as a successful legal practitioner, industrialise etc. He had also established himself as the uncrowned king of Orissan people. Though a liberal like Mr. Gandhi in his political leanings, during that period he had done enough experiment in cottage-industry and swadeshi enterprise; had fought for the empowerment of women and emacipation of the depressed classes. Though Mr. Gandhi was known to Mr. Das as a leader, there was no direct communication between them for a long time

The year 1919-20 is a watershed in Indian history when Mr. M.K. Gandhi emerged as the unchallenged leader of Indian masses and became their beloved and revered Mahatma. Non-Cooperation, boycott and swadeshi were adopted as his major slogans. In his own words from a staunch loyalist he became a non-co-operator because of the compulsions of the British rule in India. But Mr. Das remained a loyalist as before and accepted ministership under the Raj. Therefore the followers of Gandhi and Congressmen were his worst critics. In the year 1923, he resigned from the ministership which brought him close to the Congress and his relation with Non-cooperators became friendly. Late Harekrushna Mahatab described these happenings in his book 'Gandhi O Odisa' (In Oriya) in the following words —

"Though a class of people, who in the first instance, cooperated with and participated in British administration during the non-co-operation movement; later on, some of them became disillusioned with Raj after seeing its naked form. Mr. Madhusudan Das was first among those disillusioned people. . . After he resigned from ministership his prestige was enhanced a lot among the people." (p. 24-25)

Mr. Das came in direct contact with Mahatma Gandhi in the year 1924. To salvage his sinking Utkal Tannery from financial ruin

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he went to Ahmedabad to seek help from Mahatma Gandhi. After that meeting correspondence between the two great men continued. Mahatma Gandhi had written some letters to Mr. Das two of which has been reproduced here. In different contexts Mahatmaji had also commented on Mr. Das with much appreciation. Some of these comments and appreciation are reproduced in the following pages.

The details of letters and comments on Madhusudan are :-

I. Letter to Mr. Madhusudan from Russa Road, Calcutta. This letter had been taken from Miss Soilabala Das papers.

II. An extract from letter to G.D. Birla written from Patna dated Sept. 27, 1925 (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol.-XXVIII, Page 248-49)

III. Madhusudan had delivered a lecture on Dignity of Labour at the Bihar Youngmens Institute Hall, Patna on Feb. 17, 1924. Mahatma Gandhi had reprinted a part of the lecture and commented on it. Both, the part of the lecture and comment, had been published in ' Young India ' in its Sept. 9, 1926 issue (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. XXXI, Page 381-82)

IV. This extract is from the article ' Swadeshi Vs. Foreign' It was first published in Gujarati in the paper 'Navajivan' in its issue of June 19, 1927 (Collected Works, Vol. XXXIV, Page 26)

V. In a speech at opening of Khadi Exhibition at Bangalore on 3rd July, 1927 Mahatma Gandhi had lauded the role of Mr. Das. This is an extract from that speech published in 'The Hindu' in its 4th July 1927 issue (Collected Works, Vol. XXXIV, Page 105)

VI. This observation was published in 'Young India' on 3rd Nov. 1927 under the title 'Cow-protection'. It has not yet been reprinted in the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

VII. This letter to Mr. Das was written from Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati on Mar. 16, 1928 (Collected Works, Vol. XXXVI, Page 110-11)

VIII. This is from the comments of Gandhiji published in 'Young India' (10.5.1928) under the heading 'Deadly March of Civilization ?' (Collected Works, Vol. XXXVI, Page 303)

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IX. Gandhiji had published an article on 'National School at Bombay' in Gujarati in the paper 'Navajivan' in its Sept. 23, 1928 issue. This is an extract from that article placed in Collected Works, Vol. XXXVII, Page 301-302.

X. While discussing on the problem of untouchability and its eradication, Gandhiji had commended the role of Madhusudan. This discussion of dated Nov. 14, 1932 was published in 'Bombay Chronicles' in its issue of 15th Nov. 1932 under the heading 'Statement on Untouchability—V' (Collected Works, Vol. LI, page 428-29)

XI. In the above mentioned article, Gandhiji had written Madhusudan as 'Late Madhusudan', though he was still alive. Gandhiji came to know of his mistake from an ashram inmate (probably from Govinda Chandra Mishra of Daspalla) and published this statement on November 18, 1932 in 'Bombay Chronicles' in the issue of 19th Nov. 1932. (Collected Works, Vol. LII, Page 17-18)

XII. This was published in Gujarati in 'Harijan Bandhu' on 3.9.1933, under the title: 'Advice to a Harijan Worker'. It had also a subtitle: 'Training for service.' Later on it was translated and included in the Collected Works, Vol. LV, P. 395.

XIII. These are excerpts from the essay 'Village Tanning and Its Possibilities' published in 'Harijan' on 7th September 1934. (Collected Works, Vol. LV, P. 416-419)

XIV. It's date has not been mentioned. Originally it was published in the book 'Madhusudan Das as seen by Many Eyes' (P. 1) compiled by Shoilabala Das.

XV. Gandhiji had visited Delanga in Puri District of Orissa and there he inaugurated the Exhibition of Khadi and Cottage Industries organised by the Gandhi Seva Sangha. The details of his journey and inaugural speech had been published in 'Harijan' on April 2, 1938 ; as reported by Mahadev Desai. The extract quoted under this section is a part of the inaugural speech delivered there by Mahatma Gandhi. This report was reproduced by Tendulkar in his book 'Mahatma', (Vol. IV P. 237.)]

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I : LETTER TO MADHUSUDAN DAS

148, Russa Road
Calcutta
12.8.25

Dear friend,

I have your prompt reply to my wire. I have been constantly thinking of you. But till I was in Jamshedpur I could not make up my mind to pay a special visit to Cuttack merely to see your undertaking. Having, however, gone to Jamshedpur my conscience pricked me and told me that I must likewise go to Cuttack and see your tannery. I leave on Tuesday, by the Puri Express — is it not ? It reaches Cuttack, I understand, 4'O clock in the morning. I shall stay two days. I know you cannot keep my visit secret, but I do not want a burdensome programme. I want thoroughly to study the Tannery and your requirements, and discover whether I can give you any help.

I would love to put up with you; but I am bringing Messers. Rangalal and Satish Chandra Dasgupta with me. The first friend is a Marwari gentleman, whom I am trying to interest in cow-protection. The second you know, and there will be a third with me, probably Mahadev Desai, whom you also know. Now you may put me up wherever you like.

I must collect from the Bengali friends there for Deshabandhu Memorial; and you will, of course, teach me how to spread the message of the spinning wheel in Utkal. Though the Congress has spent money like water there, it has made very little headway in Utkal. I have not, however, despaired

Yours Sincerely,

II: LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

PATNA

Aso Sud 10 [September 27, 1925]

...There is another thing. You know my views on cow-protection. Shri Madhusudan Das owns a tannery at Cuttack which he has developed into a limited company. I feel like acquiring a majority of its shares with a view to controlling it for public benefit in the interest of cow-protection. The tannery's liabilities amount to Rs. 1, 20, 000. It is necessary to rescue it from this dead weight. The tannery uses only the hides of dead animals, but the hides of specially-killed

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patlaghos (kind of iguana) are also used. In case it is decided to take over the tannery, three conditions should be insisted on:

1. Only hides of dead animals will be taken ;
2. The practice of killing *patlaghos* for the sake of their hides must be discontinued;
3. The idea of charging interest (In the source the word 'sut' or yarn has been used. It appears to be a slip for the word 'sud' or interest) must be given up; if there is any profit, it should be used for the expansion of the tannery.

I would like you to take over the tannery provided it is available on these terms; I would also like you to undertake its management. If that is not practicable, I shall find someone else who can manage it. The tannery has a few acres of land which I have seen myself. Shri Madhusudan Das has spent a considerable amount on it out of his own pocket.

III : DIGNITY OF LABOUR

"We meet every day young men, graduates of our universities, hawking their degrees. They ask for the recommendation of a man who has no education but commands wealth, and in nine cases out of ten, the rich man's recommendation carries greater weight with the officials than the university degree. What does this prove ? It proves that money valued more than intellectual culture. Brain is at a high discount. Why is this so ? Because brain has failed to earn money. This failure is due to want of occupation in which intellectual equipment is in demand. Brain which is the most valuable and most powerful force in human society is a waste product for want of a market.

The peasant's assets are his hands. The zamindar's assets are his lands. Culture of land is agriculture. Culture of hand is industry. I am aware that agriculture has been called an industry, but differentiation on the basis of their essentials should not place agriculture in the category of industries. A branch of manual labour which affords facilities for a progressive culture of the hand securing higher wages at successive stages should be properly called industry. This is not the case with the hand working on land. The man who drives a plough, sows seeds or weeds the fields will not earn higher wages by the culture of the hand. There is no scope for attainment

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of a more remunerative skill in the agriculturist's occupation. Now take the case of a carpenter; he begins by making packing-cases. By culture he may learn to make a tantalus. Mark the progress in the manual skill resulting in a corresponding rise in the daily wages of the man. Let me assure you that the man who made the tantalus with two snakes with their expanded hoods guarding the bottles was first taken into my service for making packing-cases. His initial wages were 6 annas a day and in two years' time he was earning one rupee a day and the market value of his handi-work left at least 4 annas a day to his employer. This gives a rise in wages from Rs. 133 to 365 in two years. . Over 98 per cent of the population work on land. Land does not grow in area. Hands grow in number with the growth of the population. A holding which sustained a family of 5 members 30 years back now has to support 12 to 15 members. In some cases this extra pressure is relieved by emigration but in most cases a low standard of vitality is accepted as inevitable."

The foregoing is an extract from Smt. M.S. Das's speech delivered to the Bihar Young Men's Institute in 1924. I have kept that speech by me so as to be able to deal with the essential part of it on a suitable occasion. There is nothing new in what the speaker has said. But the value of his remarks is derived from the fact that, though a lawyer of distinction, he has not only not despised labour with the hands, but actually learnt handicrafts at a late period in life, not marely as a hobby, but for the sake of teaching young men dignity of labour, and showing that without their turning their attention to the industries of the country the outlook for India is poor. Sjt. Das has himself been instrumental in establishing a tannery at Cuttack which has been a center of training for many a young man who was before a mere unskilled labourer. But the greatest industry which requires the intelligence of millions of hands is no doubt hand-spinning. What is needed is to give the vast agricultural population of this country an added and an intelligent occupation which will train both their brains and hands. It is the finest and cheapest education that can be devised for them. Cheapest because it is immediately remunerative. And if we want universal education in India, the primary education consists not in a knowledge of the three R's but in a knowledge of hand-spinning and all it implies. And when through it the hand and the eye are properly trained, the boy or the girl is

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ready to receive instruction in the three R's . This I know would appear to some to be utterly absurd and to others to be totally unworkable. But those who so think do not know the condition of the millions. Nor do they know what it means to educate the millions of children of Indian peasantry. And this much-needed education cannot be given unless educated India which is responsible for the political awakening in the country will appreciate the dignity of labour and unless every young man would consider it his imperative duty to learn the art of hand-spinning and then re-introduce it in the villages.

IV : SWADESHI vs FOREIGN

. . . Raw materials worth crores of rupees are produced in this country and, thanks to our ignorance, lethargy and lack of invention, exported to foreign countries : the result is, as Shri Madhusudan Das has pointed out, that we remain ignorant like animals, our hands do not get the training which they ought to and our intellects do not develop as they should. As a consequence, living art has disappeared from our land and we are content to imitate the West. As long as we cannot make the machines required for utilizing the hide of dead cattle, worth nine crores, available in our country, I would be ready to import them from any part of the world and would still believe that I was scrupulously keeping the vow of swadeshi. I would believe that I would be only discrediting that vow by refusing, out of obstinacy, to import those machines.

V: SPEECH AT OPENING OF KHADI EXHIBITION, BANGALORE.

. Madhusudan Das was a brilliant lawyer in Cuttack. The poverty of Orissa woke him from his dreams and he saw that necessary as work with plough and oxen in our fields was, we should soon be reduced to the status of the bovine species unless we added to our agriculture some industry which called forth the cunning of the hand, and he has himself become a finished artisan.

VI: COW-PROTECTION

It is true that now leather is tanned from the hides of slaughtered cattle. But during the last World War Government of India had spent huge amount of money to prepare good leather from the skin of dead

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animals. Tannery Experts have told me that beautiful leather-products can also be prepared from the hides of dead animals like that of slaughtered animals. I am now experimenting in this direction. Mr Madhusudan Das of Cuttack has been experiminting it for the last several years and he has told me regarding his success in this field. Government Laboratory at calcutta is also experimenting in this direction.

VII: LETTER TO MADHUSUDAN DAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHARAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928.

DEAR FRIEND,

After a great deal of thought and bother I have established at the Ashram a little bit of a tannery without any power-driven machinery and without skilled assistance save that of a man who has received a rough-and -tumble experience of tanning in America and who is a crank like myself. Though I did not succeed in sharing your troubles and taking the load off your shoulders in connection with your own great national enterprise, your inspiration is partly responsible for the establishment of this little tannery at the Ashram. Can you please help me with a list of literature on the subject, a handbook on tanning and the like? If you think that there is nothing like it in English, will you out of your own wide and varied experience write out something that may be of use for propaganda, just a few hints? What is happening at the Tannery? Who is in charge? I may add that my idea is to make the Ashram Tannery a model for villages so that the villagers may be able to treat their own dead cattle and make use of the hide themselves. I have asked many people without success as to how I can skin dead cattle. Everybody knowing anything of tanning has something to say about hides after they are received from the village tanner; but nobody has yet told me if I take charge of a dead animal I can skin the carcass economically and hygienically and make use of other contents such as bones, intestine, etc., for purpose of manure.

Yours sincerely,

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VIII: DEADLY MARCH OF CIVILIZATION (?)

But for the hypnotic spell under which the intoxicating education of our times drives us to live, we would consider it a sacrilege to deprive people of their own existing honourable occupation in the distant, vague and often vain hope of bettering their fleeting material condition. If civilization means change of form merely without regard to substance it is an article of doubtful value. And yet that is what the foregoing paragraph sent by Sjt. Balaji Rao means. Under the guise of the civilizing influence of commerce the innocent people of Burma are being impoverished and reduced to the condition of cattle. As Sjt. Madhusudan Das has pointed out, people who merely work with cattle and forget the cunning of the hand by giving up handicrafts are impoverished not only in body but also in mind.

IX: NATIONAL SCHOOL AT BOMBAY

This country needs an industrial climate. In the education of this country, the vocational aspect should constitute its dominant part. When this takes place, the students who will go on learning a craft will support their schools through it. Shri Madhusudan Das had conceived such a plan with regard to his tannery in Cuttack. The plan was a fine one. But it did not materialize as the prevailing atmosphere in the country provided no encouragement to vocational training or a tannery. Why should not carpentry be an indispensable part of our higher education ? Education without a knowledge of weaving would be comparable to the solar system without the sun. Where such trades are being properly learnt, the students should be able to meet the expenses of their own schools. For this scheme to succeed, the students should have physical strength, will-power and a favourable atmoshere created by the teachers.

X: STATEMENT OF UNTOUCHABILITY — V

Clean tanning is a far more difficult proposition. Our tanners do not know the modern method of skinning carcases nor of tanning. Tanning I have here used in a comprehensive sense. The so-called higher classes having criminally neglected this useful body of their co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, the whole of the process from the carrying of the carcase to the dressing of the hide is done in a

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crude manner resulting in the loss to the country of untold wealth and the producation of inferior hide.

The late Madhusudan Das who was a great philanthropist and had himself learnt the modern process of tanning, had prepared statistics to show what the country was losing annually owning to the superstition of untouchability masquerading under the name of religion. Harijan workers can learn the modern method and acquaint the tanners with it in so far as it is practicable...

XI : STATEMENT ON MADHUSUDAN DAS

November 18, 1932

An Ashram inmate living in Orissa has telegraphed to me saying that Babu Madhusudan Das to whose good work for the tanners I referred in my fifth statement is not dead. I cannot account for my stupidity in having imagined Madhusudan Babu was no more. On receipt of the telegram I sent the following telegram to Madhusudan Babu:

"Long live Madhusudan Das. I had gathered the impression that you were no more. This is proof of my stupidity but let it also be proof that God still has service to take from you for many a long year to come."

I render my humble apology to Madhusudan Babu and his family for my stupid blunder.

XII : ADVICE TO A HARIJAN WORKER

I do not need any scheme. I want a person who would act. What purpose would a scheme serve without a person to carry it out? What can we do with a scheme if we did not have the capacity to implement it? You are planning to take up leather work. I like leather work very much. But you have not learnt it. It is not enough that you can make slippers. We have also to take up the work of tanning. If you have that ability, your work and mine would become easy. We do not want to set up big factories. We have to see how better tanning of leather could be done in the villages. What did Madhusudan Das do? He gathered the tanners of Utkal and studied how they did their tanning. He was not satisfied with it, and he went to Germany and saw leather

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work there. He brought a German [expert] with him and set up a factory. It is no longer under him. I do not know its present condition. Many Harijans learnt the work during the days of Madhusudan Das. Like Madhusudan Das you too should first master the craft. It cannot be done in one month's time. You can do very well, if you learn it properly. I can make arrangements for your training.

XIII : VILLAGE TANNING AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

Village tanning is as ancient as India itself. No one can say when tanning became a degraded calling. It could not have been so in ancient times. But we know today that one of the most useful and indispensable industries has consigned probably a million people to hereditary untouchability. An evil day dawned upon this unhappy country when labour began to be despised and, therefore, neglected. Millions of those who were the salt of the earth, on whose industry this country depended for its very existence, came to be regarded as low class and the microscopic leisured few became the privileged classes, with the tragic result that India suffered morally and materially. Which was the greater of the two losses it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate. But the criminal neglect of the peasants and the artisans has reduced us to pauperism, dulness and habitual idleness. With her magnificent climate, lofty mountains, mighty rivers and an extensive seaboard, India has limitless resources, whose full exploitation in her villages should have prevented poverty and disease. But the divorce of the intellect from body-labour has made of us perhaps the shortest-lived, most resourceless and most exploited nation on earth. The state of village tanning is, perhaps, the best proof of my indictment. It was the late Madhusudan Das who opened my eyes to the great crime against a part of humanity. He sought to make reparation by opening what might be called an educational tannery. His enterprise did not come up to his expectations, but he was responsible for the livelihood of hundreds of shoemakers in Cuttack.

It is estimated that rupees nine crores worth of raw hide is annually exported from India and that much of it is returned to her in the shape of manufactured articles. This means not only a material but also an intellectual drain. We miss the training we should receive in tanning and preparing the innumerable articles of leather we need for daily use

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. . .This urbanization can do little good to the Harijans, much less to the villages. It is a process of double drain from the villages. Urbanization in India is slow but sure death for her villages and villagers. Urbanization can never support ninety per cent of India's population, which is living in her 7, 00, 000 villages. To remove from these villages tanning and such other industries is to remove what little opportunity there still is for making skilled use of the hand and the head. And when the village handicrafts disappear, the villagers working only with their cattle on the field, with idleness for six or four months in the year, must, in the words of Madhusudan Das, be reduced to the level of the beast and be without proper nourishment, either of the mind or the body, and, therefore, without joy without hope.

Here is work for the cent-per-cent swadeshi-lover and scope for the harnessing of technical skill to the soultion of a great problem. The work fells three apples with one throw. It serves the Harijans, it serves the villagers and it means honourable employment for the middle-class intelligentsia who are in search of employment. Add to this the fact that the intelligentsia have a proper opportunity of coming in direct touch with the villagers.

XIV : AN APPRECIATION

I had the privilege of meeting the late Madhusudan Das. He was a great patriot. He held most liberal views about religion. Though he professed Christianity, he had the same regard for Hinduism that he entertained for his own faith. He wore himself out in teaching the youth of his country, 'Dignity of Labour' and gave political proof of his teaching by establishing at great sacrifice a tannery in Cuttack.

XV : SPEECH AT THE EXHIBITION OF KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

. . .Man differs from the beasts in several ways. As Madhusudan Das said one of the distinctions is differing anatomy of both. Man has feet and hands with fingers that he can use intelligently and artistically. If man depended wholly and solely on agriculture, he would not be using fingers that God has specially endowed him with.

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APPENDIX : 3

MADHUSUDAN DAS

PT. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[Coming for a short visit to Orissa, Pr. Jawaharlal Nehru unveiled the statue of Madhu Babu in the premises of Sailabala Women's College at Cuttack on 13th February, 1953. The following is an extract of his speech delivered there.]

Madhusudan Das was a great man not only of Orissa but of the whole India. I have been hearing his name for the last fifty years. Though I had no opportunity to meet him directly yet I have seen him from a distance. He was a very great friend of my father. During this period whenever the affairs of Orissa came up for discussion and consideration, the name of Madhusudan absorbed all this and came into prominence. You all know all that he had done for Orissa. This College(S.B. Women's College, Cuttack) is the proof of his far sight and vision. If he had not moved for the progress of female education, this institution could not have raised its head. The progress of civilisation of a country is to be measured by Female Education.

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APPENDIX : 4

MADHUSUDAN DAS AND MYSELF

SHOILABALA DAS

[Shoilabala Das was the only adopted child of Madhu Babu, enjoying all the rights and privileges of a daughter. As a companion/ co-worker till his death, she was a participant in numerous activities in which Mr. Das was involved. Following extracts have been selected from her autobiography titled **'I Look Before and After'** where she portrays the life and achievements of Mr. Das.]

I AM BEING INTRODUCED TO M. S. DAS

Mr. Madhu Sudan Das and my father both studied in the L. M.S. College, Bhowanipore. They were into the same hostel and shared the same room. Consequently they became firm friends. This lasted till their death. They embraced Christianity on the same day and in the same Church. Consequently their friendship was cemented on religious grounds. When my father brought my mother from his village Hindu home she was brought to Mr. Das's house. Mr. Das was married then to a Bengali Christian lady. I was born at Mr. Das's house. Both Mr. Das and his wife took great interest in me. But as my father was in the Government of India service in the Finance Department, the friends were separated. After The death of his wife Mr.Das left Calcutta and came back to Cuttack, his own native place.

In the year 1888 Mr. Das, after our return from Simla, came to see us. This was my second introduction to him. He at once took a great interest in me. He asked for my mother's permission to adopt me. But my mother would not give her consent. Owing to my mother's ill health he insisted that my father should take leave, come to Cuttack and stay at his house for two months. We came to Cuttack in 1889. I was very interested in his childhood's adventures and got attached to him. Finding that I was a kindred spirit he wanted to educate me. He wanted my parents' consent to send me to a boarding school in Calcutta. They readily gave their consent. From this stage I came to know Mr. Das well. After my mother's death in 1892, he brought us all to Cuttack to stay with him. My father married a second time and stayed in Simla. So we brothers and sisters stayed at Cuttack,

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which was our home. Mr.M.S.Das brought us all up. After I passed my I.A. Examination I was adopted by him and introduced to the public as his daughter, which enabled me to carry on with greater facility his activities for the welfare of the people of Orissa, especially in the cause of female education generally. I am thankful to God that his choice of a Bengali girl as a daughter was not in vain. Though he was criticised by many of his Oriya friends and relations in thus choosing a Bengali and not an Oriya girl, on his death bed he expressed his satisfaction on having adopted me, for I fulfilled his expectations.

I AM BEING EDUCATED

I had my elementary education in the London Mission Girl's School, but the foundation was weak, as I had to go to Simla for eight months in the year with my parents. When Mr. Das took up the question of my education he sent me to the Bethune School, I became a boarder and was admitted into the second class. The following year I passed the Entrance Examination. This year my mother died.

Mr. Das in the following year sent my sister. Shudhanshu to the Bethune School. In the first year I had twelve fellow students. All my college friends are no more. At college I was the leader of all the girls in my class in acts of mischief. But I managed to escape punishment. It was one of the rules of the hostel that after college hours we should show our stockings then worn by us. If any holes were seen, it had to be mended then and there. One Mrs. Biswas, the Superintendent, was very particular on this point. So to thwart her, one day I told the girls that we would have a little fun out of her. I put on a pair of lace stockings. When I came for inspection the old lady who had never before seen a lace stocking complained that my pairs was full of small holes : I was asked to fill them all up. I refused to comply with her request. I was reported to the Principal. I was called and reprimanded. So I held up my stockinged foot. The Principal, an august being, feared by all, looked at it, smiled and dismissed the case.

I being a Christian girl, the Lady Principal, also a Christian, took me to task for mixing with Brahmo Girls on Sundays in the hostel. I did not pay attention to her orders, as I felt the injustice of it. On Sundays I freely mixed with my Brahmo friends. Seeing this the Principal again took me to task. I told her that I did not

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see the justice of it, as I found there were things which I could learn from them. She was struck by my daring but could do nothing to cure me.

I came back to Cuttack as I was ill. After my illness I did not care to go back to the College, so I was put into the Loreto Convent, Middleton street in Calcutta. Here I learnt many things from the good Sisters. They were very loving and kind to me. They never tried to convert me to their religious tenets. At night when the Reverend Mother used to bless the girls with "God bless you my child, sleep well" I also knelt down to receive her blessings and felt at peace with the whole world. But I should like to record an incident here which made a deep impression on my mind. The time of University Examination drew near. It was the rule of the Convent then that each examinee should pay rupees ten towards the lighting of a candle and offering of prayers by a religious man for her success. I refused to do it on any account, as I could not believe that my success in examination depended on the intervention of another. I argued thus "Had it been true, I would not have taken so much trouble in preparing for the examination" I was willing to give even Rs 20/- towards the feeding of the poor girls, but not even one to make me pass my examination through the prayer of another. When I asked for my Roll No. which was kept in the Church under the carpet, where the Father stood daily to offer Mass, it was returned to me in great distress. Everyone believed that I would be unsuccessful through this obstinacy. At the examination hall, I found to my dismay that questions that I had learnt so well had clean gone out of my memory, and I failed ignominiously. It left a deep impression on my mind and I left the Convent as I had no desire to court a second failure.

As my father wanted me to pass the I. A. I was sent to the Deveton College at Free School Street, Calcutta. I stayed in the hostel of Young Women's Institution at Park St. There were many European girls in the hostel but only two attended the college with me. Most of the college boys were Europeans, except half a dozen Indian boys. Amongst the boys one was from Bihar, a Mohammendan named Khaja Mohammad Noor. He was my fellow student in the college and I never expected to meet him in after life. He helped me considerably when I met him in Patna as Vice-Chancellor of the University and the President of the Legislative Assembly.

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I enjoyed my life at Deveton with the girls and was quite free to go about as I liked. I passed my I.A. After the results were out Mr. Das wanted me to join either the Deveton or the Convent for the B.A. But I did not care to go to any of these colleges. This time Mr. Das was ill and the doctors advised him to go to England. I made up my mind to stay at Cuttack in his house during his absence. At first he refused but in the end he gave in, stipulating that Mr. and Mrs. Anam Chandra Das and their family would stay with me during his absence. To this I readily agreed. Thus I severed my connections with Calcutta, my birth place, and settled down in Cuttack, my adopted country.

LIFE IN CUTTACK HOW I CAME TO CUTTACK

Mr. Das owing to his illness decided to go to England for medical treatment and left for England in 1897, and with his consent I came to live in Cuttack under the guardianship of Mr. and Mrs. A. Das who lived with me in the same house. I took to gardening and furnishing the house and passed my time pleasantly. He had left enough money for my legitimate wants. I thought I would give him a surprise by joining the Ravenshaw Boy's College and studing for the B.A. I went to see the Principal of the Ravenshaw College and asked him if he would admit me into the Third Year Class. In those days co-education was not favoured. He refused it. I went to Calcutta and saw the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal. Orissa was then under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. I succeeded in getting permission of the D.P.I. to study in the Ravenshaw College. I returned to Cuttack triumphant in being successful in the Mission The Principal admitted me with great reluctance. I saw the science Professor who was willing to take me in his class. The Professor of Mathematics was also willing. This time I came to know Miss Isabella Samuels, whom Mr. Das had educated in the Bethuna College for I..A. As I wanted a woman to study in the college with me I persuaded her to come and join the Ravenshaw College with me. She readily consented as I promised to bear all her educational expenses. She came and lived with me in Mr. Das's house. One thing struck me when I was studying with boys that they were very well behaved and docile and would not even open their lips in our presence, but I often used to ask questions in order to clear my difficulties. During tiffin time Isabella and myself came and rested in the Principal's room. On his return Mr. Das was

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greatly surprised and pleased to see me studying for the B.A. with Miss Samuels. At this time I was in indifferent health. While I was sitting for my examination on the third day I completely collapsed and had to be carried away from the hall. After this I did not attempt it a second time. Though my college education practically ended here, my real education began in Mr. Das Library. Here I met various classes of people, heard heated discussions on religion, politics, social, industrial, educational and economical problems. Thus I imbibed unconsciously all Mr. Das's ideas, and enjoyed the unique privilege in my girlhood of coming in contact with a unique man.

UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE

In 1903 my father left Congress as he found that unless the National Congress took up Orissa matters, it would not be fair for Orissa to join it. As the people of Orissa were very backward in those days and there was no national life, he started the Utkal Union Conference. The father of the present Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, Sri Ram Chandra Bhanja Deo was the President and other Feudatory Chiefs were all present. A large executive Committee was formed and I was one of the members. The officials and non-officials of Cuttack took great interest in this. Just a week before the meeting the then Commissioner of Orissa sent round a Circular asking Government officers not to join this Conference. This news staggered the members of the Executive Committee as this would prevent all the Feudatory Chiefs and Government officers from attending the Conference. The Commissioner came to see me and I being a blunt woman always ask blunt questions. So I asked the Commissioner why he had sent round such a circular, as the Conference was meant to deal with Social and educational matters only and his circular would harm the Conference a great deal." He told me "You are a little girl and you must not discuss this subject with me as my lips are sealed."

After he left my house I went down to the Committee meeting which was being held in our house and told them what the Commissioner had said. My father sent a long telegram to the Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa regarding this matter. Three days after, the Commissioner wanted to see my father badly. My father went to him and he showed my father a letter from the then Chief Secretary which was asked to be read out to my father. The contents

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were that Government was in full sympathy with the Oriya people's welfare movement and the Commissioner was asked to attend the conference on behalf of the Government to give support to the conference. The Commissioner felt his position very keenly and withdrew the circular.

The great day arrived, great excitement prevailed. Three hundred college boys were made volunteers by me. I organised this volunteer movement and grouped them in different sections, we took no help from Government. Even the duties of the police were undertaken by these volunteers, who regulated the traffic also.

On the platform sat the Rajas and the Commissioner. In the middle of the pandal a "durry" was spread and my father sat down there with the scheduled caste people and the harijans. Everyone who attended the conference had a special headgear Pink pagri which I took great pride to make them in our house by the help of tailors.

Stirring speeches were made in Oriya. Everyone was pleased with the function and a national feeling was developed. So this pandal became the birthplace of Oriya nationalism, and it was a great success. Some editors of leading Calcutta newspapers came to the conference at my father's special invitation. They all paid compliments to my father at the signal success of the conference. In other places the speeches they said were all in English, which the masses could not understand, whereas here even the least educated and the mass could take a keen interest in the proceedings of the conference as all the speeches were in Oriya. I moved a resolution on Female Education which was supported by all. For the girls' school I said that many of the Ranis and Rajas and other gentlemen of the town have assured me that they would help me when the school started.

The Calcutta papers called the conference "a one man's show" and congratulated the 'one man' for its signal success.

M.S.DAS IN LONDON

My father came to England in June 1907, to take me back to India. He asked me whether I would stay in a hostel or take a house. I said that I would like to have a house, do housekeeping and invite my friends. We had a beautiful house at Southerland Avenue, engaged half a dozen servants and a housekeeper. My father took his Mohammadan servant with him, who could not talk English. When

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he wished to say anything he would make signs and stare with his big eyes, which frightened the maids. He would also sit down on the floor. I had invited some of my friends and some M.Ps. who were kind to me and in whose houses I had been a guest. The day previous to the dinner party in the morning, I was going out of London for the whole day, the housekeeper came and told me that all the servants had given notice to leave that day and she brought the account book and the money and one week's salary of the servants as they were leaving without notice. I told her I would look into the matter next day and left the house. When I returned in the evening, except the butler, every one had left. Now to stay in a London house without a cook, especially when one was expecting important guests to dinner was a great dilemma for me. I was told by the butler that the servants left owing to our Mohammedan servant whose ways they did not like. My father asked me either to cancel the dinner party or to ask them to a fashionable hotel. I said " No father, I would entertain them in my own house. London is a place where you can do things in the twinkling of an eye if one spends money." I got a very good cook from the servants bureau and two waiters from a hotel. Every thing was in tiptop condition when the guests arrived, the first dinner party was a great success. I was congratulated by the ladies in having such good servants, when they heard the whole story they were surprised and paid me compliments. Thus the tragedy of a dinner party ended happily. And the batch of servants I engaged again proved efficient and the butler wanted the hookah of my father when he left London to show his efficiency to other big Indians who would engage him. I liked English servants better than our own servants for their punctuality and efficiency If you treat them with kindness they proved a great success. They would go out of their way to please you. But our Anglo-Indian friends after their retirement from service cannot get on well with them owing to their overbearing nature. Many of my Anglo-Indian lady friends have told me of their grievances regarding servants.

HOW I CAME TO BE IN PATNA

Bihar and Orissa were under the administration of one Governor and Patna was the Capital. Under the Montague-Chelmsford reform,

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two Ministers were appointed with two members for the Governor's Executive Council. The position and salaries were the same for the Ministers and the Executive Council members. The late Lord Sinha was the first Governor of this Province and he appointed my father as the first Minister of Health and Local Self -Government and P.W.D. My father went to Patna to take up his duties and I was left behind at Cuttack to settle matters and wind up the house and to get ready to go to Patna. My father went to Ranchi and asked me to come to Patna. I arrived in Patna, with my bag and baggage in May 1921.

MINISTER'S DAUGHTER

(a) Minister's House :—

Government did not allot any house for Ministers and my father found great difficulty in securing a house. He did not mind where he stayed, but I was disappointed when I found a small house had been engaged for me. I was asked to secure a good house, if possible, and my father was willing to pay whatever the rent was. But alas, neither love nor money could procure a house for the Minister's daughter ! I had great difficulties with the house problem. The Chief Engineer of the P.W.D. told me that a Plan for a Minister's house was ready and he could give me in six months time a lovely house for the Minister if only the Minister would sanction Rs. 75,000/- for the building of his house. I asked my father to sanction this amount but he definitely refused. He said "All over the Province people are dying of plague, cholera and Kalazur. I need money to save people from these fell diseases and cannot afford to spend money for the building of my house. If you are not satisfied, you may return to Cuttack, for as long as I remain a Minister my conscience will not allow me to spend so much money on a Minister's house." After this I never asked for a house. I rented as good a house as I could get made it comfortable and started a garden. This house was kept open day and night for people to come to him with their grievances. The 'Jamadar' had strict orders from my father that he should be informed immediately whenever anyone came to see him.

Thus I came in contact with various classes of men and learnt many things from them. Departmental injustice was a daily cry and I was often approached by the victims and repeated to my father what I heard.

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(b) Car Incident :—

The new Capital Roads were a beauty, one day I felt tempted to take out my car and have a good run. I spent an enjoyable hour without any accident. The report was sent to my father at Ranchi that his daughter was seen driving a car without a license and politely suggested my taking a license. I produced my Cuttack license and there the matter ended.

(c) Rendering help to my father :—

Some of the Oriya gentlemen working in the Secretariat and P.W.D. thought that my father being an Oriya would always help them with good post without regard to their efficiency. It was decided by Government that one of the head assistants of the P.W.D. should be taken as an Assistant Secretary, instead of an outsider. One Bengali and one Oriya Head Clerk applied for the post. The Oriya Clerk was sure of getting the post as he thought that when my father made it the mission of his life to help the Oriya people for their upliftment, he must have it. The Oriya clerk came to me and asked me to help him. I readily consented and approached my father. My father said nothing, but brought two files from the office, gave them to me to go through them carefully and then tell him what my decision was. I was surprised and felt quite proud of the confidence reposed on me. I studied the file carefully and found that the Oriya clerk was regular in attendance but very slow. The Bengali clerk though not so regular in attendance, was good at his work and could do double the amount of work done by the other. So naturally I decided in favour of the Bengali clerk and my father said "You have done well." Many a time my father consulted me about important cases, as he knew that I mixed with all classes of people and could give him many useful information, which helped him to do justice in many cases.

(d) Sonepur Mela :—

The Sonepur Mela is a great annual festivity in Bihar. It takes place in the full moon in the month of November at Sonepur. People from all over India are gathered there. All sorts of things are found in the Mela, especially animals and birds which are brought there for sale. My father being the Minister of Health had to go on the previous day to see to the arrangements. Some of my friends, officials and non-officials, both husband and wife, wanted to see the Mela and

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asked me to get accommodation for them in the railway. I told my father about this and he reserved a compartment for us. Passengers stood on the footboards and on the roof and compartments were packed overfull. We were 30 in one compartment. On arrival at the Sonepur station, I was told by the Manager of the Refreshment Room, that my father had ordered lunch for us and it was ready. We saw all the exhibits and bought a lot of useful and useless things. Then we came to the Bungalow where my father was staying and found a lovely tea and refreshments ready for us. Though very tired with the long drive in the crowd we did not forget to do full justice to the tea. It was full moon and we crossed the Ganges by steamer, arriving home at midnight fully exhausted but enjoyed ourselves greatly.

(e) Entertainments.

Being the daughter of the first Minister I had to entertain every week with tea parties, dinner parties, purdah parties and others. I fully enjoyed getting up these parties. They were a great success and quite a new thing in the station. My friends also asked me to help them with their parties and I did so readily. In these parties I was made the hostess as the mistress of the house was orthodox and in Purdah and so she would not come out before the public.

(f) Durbar at Govt. House.

I shall here narrate an incident from which you will find that I never take an insult lying down no matter how high the personage is who offers it. If I am treated well I do all to help, but if unjustly treated I retaliate. I know it is a failing in my nature but I cannot help it. Three Governor's wives treated me badly and I kept away from them. There was a Durbar in the Government House where I went with my father. The Minister's car arrived under the main portico which is meant for high Government officials and for ministers. My father handed me over to the Private Secretary to show me my seat. He took me by the main marble staircase to the Balcony and I took my seat there. The Commissioner's wife came and sat by me. The ladies were all around us. The Governor's wife sat at a little distance from us with her friends. After the function was over, as we were getting down by the same staircase, I was told by the Commissioner's wife that the Governor's wife was coming towards us. We waited for her to come and I looked at her with a smile. But she was furious,

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and raising her hand shouted in the presence of all the ladies "Not that way, not that way go by the back staircase." We were stupefied at the exhibition of her uncalled for temper and rudeness. For she had her private lift and we were within our rights to use this staircase. However we came down by the back staircase, as directed. As a consolation we were told that whereas the Governor's wife had insulted us, the wives of the other high officials were insulted by her Chaprasi. I did not tell anyone about this unpleasant incident, not even to my father. But when he heard and asked me about it, I told him the facts and requested him never to ask me to attend any function at Government House. As he was a Minister, he would have to go but as his daughter was not in Government service, she could do what she liked. He told me I could do what I pleased and he would not ask me to go to the Government House.

(g) Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council : —

When my father was Minister I used to go with him daily to the meetings of Legislative Council. Whenever there was any important item, I used to take Indian ladies to the Council with me. When tired, we went to my father's Chamber for rest and refreshments. The late Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha was then the President of the Council when he said "Order, Order." He was the right man in the right place and I called him "uncle". He was very kind to me, and so was Sir Fakiruddin who was the Education M inister and my father's colleague. These two kind friends spoilt me in Patna as they always compiled with my request whenever I approached them. When my father presented the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill and held a Conference of all the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of District Board and Municipalities of the province I used to entertain them and gave them tea every afternoon in the compound of the Council Chamber. I also discussed the bill with them. Through my effort the women got franchise in the municipality for the first time. Thus I got acquainted with all sections of the Municipal Commisioner of the Patna Municipality myself this knowledge helped me a lot. Those were happy days indeed, alas, never to come back again.

RESIGNATION OF MY FATHER FROM MINISTERSHIP

I used to attend meetings of the Municipality when my father presided. He explained the duties of the Chairman seriously and clearly and appealed to them to do their duties better and not to neglect their

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work in any way. I heard someone remarking behind him "The Minister will get Rs 5,000/- a month whereas the Chairman will have to do honorary work. Is this justice ? Why can't the Minister do honorary work as the Chairman : I felt the justice of this remark and repeated it to my father. He said, "They are right, my post ought to be an honorary one." He approached the Viceroy and Governor on the subject, but H.E. could not give his consent to this.

Now at the winter Council session of 1923 some members sent up resolution to reduce the Ministers salary to Rs. 4,000/-. The Governor would not consent to this and the Government whip was asked to find out the strength of the voters for the resolution. My father was asked by the Governor not to accept Rs. 4000/- . Both the Ministers decided to resign if their salary was reduced to Rs. 4,000. My father was quite willing to accept an honorary post, but not a reduced salary. I went to the meeting with them. Great excitement prevailed in the Council Chamber and the members were discussing the question with geat heat. My father delivered his speech and said he would like to have the honorary post, but would not consent to the cut motion. Inspite of Sir Fakiruddins assurances that he would not accept the cut motion, when he got up to speak, he said he was willing to accept Rs 4,000. The Council was adjourned for an hour to allow the Ministers to come to some agreed conclusion. I went with my father to his chamber and asked him to resign. He said he would do so. I told him he should first accept Rs. 4,000 to make Sir Fakiruddin's position safe and then send in his resignation. In the meantime, Sir Hugh Macpherson who was a Home Member and a Government whip met me in front of my father's room and asked me about the decision of my father. I said he would accept Rs. 4,000 as Sir Fakiruddin was willing to do so. He was surprised. He said "why we have the majority and we would win, so there is no question of accepting Rs. 4,000 ." I said win, so there is no question of accepting Rs. 4,000." I said "It is no use trying to persuade my father. He has decided to accept Rs. 4,000. So please phone to the Governor about it." Sir Fakiruddin did not come to my father's chamber to discuss the matter. Sir Hugh came to my father and told him that H.E. wishes to know his decision. My father said "Tell H.E. I accept Rs. 4,000." When the adjourned Council met there was no further discussion on the subject as both the Ministers had accepted the reduced salary. Then my father left the Council Chamber

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and went home, but I went to Sir Fakiruddin's chamber to have a straight talk with him. I was very angry with him for changing his mind like this. I could not hide my feelings, I entered his room and bitterly reproached him for this. I said my father had taken measure that he would get his Rs. 4000 and so had apparently agreed to the proposal but he would not do any more work with a man who had betrayed him and could not keep his word. He asked "Why, what is your father going to do ?" I said " He must resign." He said, "No, you must not allow him to do this. We will not have his resignation." I said, "It is to be seen Sir Fakiruddin whether you or I win." After saying this I also went home. I asked by father if he was really going to resign and he said "Yes." His decision was good and I asked him to send his resignation to H.E. As his stenographer had gone home, my father himself wrote the letter of resignation and sent it to H.E. the same night. The Private Secretary of H.E. not knowing its contents and finding it was not marked "Urgent. "left it on H.E.'s table. Early next morning my father sent for me and asked me whether I really wanted him to resign. I said "Yes" Then he said, "Finish your part of the work by phoning to all the high officials about my resignation so that H.E. will have no other alternative but to accept it" I then phoned to the Council President the then Khwaja Mahammad Noor and others and to Mr. Hallet, then the Chief Secretary. They were all surprised at the news, but could not understand why he resigned after having accepted the reduced salary. They said they would ask H.E. not to accept the resignation, but I said it was no use for they would fail in their efforts. H.E. opened my father's letter at 9.30 a.m. and was greatly surprised. He knew nothing of his Minister's resignation nor of his daughter's activities. He phoned at once to the President of the Council as he wished to know the reason of my father's resignation. H.E. asked who had advised him to send in his resignation. They kept silent as they did not like to tell H.E. that it was hid daughter who had advised him to do this. The whole town rang with this news. People were both sorry and surprised at the news. The resignation was accepted by the Governor.

After a time, he left Patna for Cuttack as he had to attend to his business which was in a very bad and serious condition then ; as a result of this he had to go to the Insolvency Court and declared insolvent. And afterwards released.

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After his departure from Patna I stayed on, everyone treated me as usual and I decided to stay on there and make myself useful in doing various public work. I was still called the Minister's daughter, though I did not care for that position and honour. I loved doing work and found plenty to occupy myself, as I shall narrate hereafter. I came more in contact with the people and officials than I did as a Minister's daughter.

ELECTION PETITION CASE

This was a case in which I was personally interested as I filed an election petition to set aside the election of my friend Sayed Mohammad Hafiz M.A., B.L. He and I both contested the University seat at the Legislative Council at Patna. I had great excitement contesting this election and enjoyed it thoroughly. I found amongst the Biharis there was no question of creed, caste and nationality or sex. Neither do they suffer from inferiority complex. The voters gave me every encouragement to stand for the election. Even three Mohammadan voters who were friends of Mr. Hafiz gave me their votes, it was unique but such was my position in Patna that everyone was kind to me and encouraged me to do more work. At the time of counting of the votes I found I was defeated by one vote. I was staggered, as I knew I would get more votes than my rival. Ten or twelve of my votes were not counted as they did not comply with the election rule. I found that 3 of my voting papers which I personally registered were not amongst the voting papers, they did not arrive from the post. It was the mistake of the returning officer which made me lose those three votes. I studied the law book and found that I had good ground for filing a petition. I went to a senior lawyer and also to Mr. P.R.Das, Barrister, and consulted them. Every one thought I had a good case. I deposited Rs. 1,000 and filed an election petition to set aside the election. I came to Cuttack and discussed with my father about my case. He asked me not to file the election case as I might have further disappointment. But I am a person who when once makes up her mind and thinks she is in the right nothing could make her give it up. I did not follow my father's advice. The great day dawned. A special Tribunal was appointed to try my case. I had five lawyers for my case but none of them would accept money from me as it was the first election petition field by a woman in India. And it was not a dirty case.

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I also studied my own case and instructed my lawyers. I went with them to the court daily for four days and sat with them. After 4 days long trial when the 3 missing voting papers were opened, it was found they were good votes for me. The election was set aside. I was not elected but a fresh election was ordered. I was not disappointed or discouraged. But decided to try my luck again, as I was sure of my voters. None of them deceived me. That was, a great encouragement for me. I won my election petition case and had congratulations from officials and non-officials and got back my deposit money.

INSOLVENCY CASE

Everyone knows in Orissa that my father for more than a quarter of a century worked single-handed for the regeneration of Orissa and tried to improve the industries. He took up so many things in hand for which money was required and also he had to earn his living. Even a millionnaire could not cope with the adverse circumstances of the time when he lived and the result was a big crash. Everything was sold, house, law books, furniture, Tannery, art wares everything he possessed went to the court. Now here I come into this Insolvency picture. One of his creditors filed a petition that the property which I possessed belonged to Mr. Das as I never earned anything in my life. It was a fact that I earned nothing except Rs. 20,000 from Insurance money and Rs. 10,000 as my legal fees. The problem before me was how to prove that all my properties were my own and nothing belonged to my father. I acquired my property by the saving of my pocket money. Is it not wonderful? But I always had generous pocket money and by investing and re-investing it, I increased the amount. I made all my transactions always through the Bank. I was always in the habit of keeping accounts. My account books of 45 years I had still with me and as all my business were transacted through the Bank I was saved from ruin. I went to the Chief Justice in Patna and asked his advice as to what I was required to do. He told me I must prove how I acquired the properties by giving certified copies and give documentary evidence in the court. Could I do so ? I was relieved. I smiled and told him. "Yes, I think I can prove it." After that for one whole month I worked for more than 10 hours a day with my old account books and got certified copies from the various Banks, Life Insurance Company and wrote down questions and answers for each of my property to prove how I got

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them. After a month I was pleased with my own work for I felt I was saved from ruination. I went to the late Mr. Hasan Iman, the great lawyer of Bihar and consulted him is my case, showed him all my papers and how I prepared them. He gave me 3 full hours to go through the whole case, did not charge me any fees as he was interested in my case and he promised to take up my case should it come to the High Court and asked me not to worry. He said "no court could disbelieve you." He informed the creditors' lawyer to come and examine my papers and see whether he had any right over my property. After going through the case the creditor found out that he had not an inch of claim to fight the case as it was all my money through which the property was acquired and he withdrew the case. It was a great victory for me.

AMENDMENT TO LEGAL PRACTITIONER'S ACT

When Miss Hazra my late sister passed her law, she tried to get permission to practice. The Patna High Court did not give permission to Miss S.B.Hazra to be enrolled as a lawyer. Without the amendment of the Act, it was not possible for any woman in India to practice in a Court of Law.

The late Mr. M.S.Das wrote to Sir H.S.Gour to take up the question of the amendment of the Legal Practitioner's Act in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi with the removal of sex disqualification resolution. He at once asked Mr. Das to send me and Miss Hazra to Delhi with the necessary papers. He sent up the amendment to the Legal Practitioners Act which he wished to move with his resolution on the removal of sex disqualification in the Legislative Assembly. We went to Delhi on 19th February 1922. Sir H.S.Gour on the following day took us to the Assembly and asked me to help him to get his amendment allowed to be moved. I did not know how I could be useful to him. We went to the President's room. Sir Frederic Whyte was the President. I was introduced to him. He enquired after my father's health and then told Dr. Gour that he had disallowed Dr. Gour's amendment. I then at once asked Sir Frederic not to be so strict and hard but to allow the amendment to be moved. He asked me "How does it interest you." I said "It interested me so much that I travelled all the way from Patna to Delhi last night for the amendment" and then I told him all about the decision of the Patna High Court. He said " The amendment is quite irregular and even if he allows it, which is quite impossible the

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members of the Assembly will raise objection." I said, "If you once do an irregular thing for the cause of women, it will not hurt any one but give satisfaction to Indian women and you yourself will feel pleasure, so why not try to be irregular for once only. As regards the Assembly members if they raise objection you with the privilege of the Chair can make them sit down by saying 'Order, order." He said, "What about the Home Member." I said "I will see him too, but please do not disappoint me." He was most reluctant —but I pressed him hard— at last he said, that he would do his best for me. I said " Please do allow Dr. Gour to move his amendment." The Assembly bell was ringing. Members were one after the other going to their seats. I did not know them but when I asked them not to raise objection on Dr. Gour's amendment, most of them promised to help me. I saw the then Home Member, Sir William Vincent. After wishing me good morning, he told Dr. Gour that the amendment was out of order. I asked Sir William to help us. He said " I being Home Member, I cannot sit silent over it, I must raise an objection." I said "Please help Dr. Gour to move his amendment and if you are to say anything against it, please say that Government will consider it if Dr. Gour will withdraw the amendment." He promised to help me— we went and I sat in the distinguished visitors gallery.

Newspapers readers of 1922 who had followed the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly must have wondered why Dr. H.S.Gour raised the question of the amendment of the Legal Practitioners Act in a resolution on the removal of sex disqualification and how Sir Federic Whyte, that most strict of Presidents of the Assembly allowed such an irregularity to pass even when some objected to that amendment. The then Home Member after a mild protest promised that the Government would consider the amendment if Dr. Gour will withdraw the amendment, which Dr. Gour did. I felt proud of my achievement and every one wondered at this incident in the Assembly. Not satisfied with this I saw the Home Member next day and requested him to bring a Bill for the amendment of the Legal Practitioners Act. He was very much amused, saying "Do you know what happened last night." I said "Nothing serious I believe." He laughed and said "It was serious to the President and me. We were dinning with H.E. the Viceroy, and he wished to know what happened to both of us that we allowed such an irregular amendment to come up before the Assembly. Now we could not very well say that we were influenced by a woman, we kept silent;

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so I am not going to be influenced any more by you." Anyone would have left his office after this, but I was not prepared to have his refusal, I said, "Only a year more and you will leave India and I am sure when you will think of your days in India if you do what I am asking you to do, you will feel a great satisfaction. That you have done something for the women of India. So will you not change your mind and help us ?" He asked "Why not ask Dr. Gour to take up the Bill ?" I said " It will not be so effective as it will be if it comes from the Home Member." At last he promised to do so and I thanked him, and before I left Delhi I saw all the members and canvassed for the Bill. When the Bill was Introduced it met with no opposition from the House. Sir William had then retired. The new Home Member remarked at the time that, he wished all other Government Bills had such an easy passage as that Bill, which was made into Law in half an hour's time without a single dissenting voice. It was a great victory. Miss Hazra was the first lady to practise in Courts of Law at Patna high Court and she thus earned this unique distinction.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S VISIT TO CUTTACK.

In the winter of 1927 I came from Patna to Cuttack. My late father Madhusudan Das's house was to be sold by auction. He was ruined owing to his several industrial enterprises. As there was no one to help him he incurred debts for which his houses had to be sold, to meet his liabilities to the Maharaja of Parlakimedi.

Just at this time the local leaders of the Congress came to my father to request him to accommodate Mahatma Gandhi and his staff at our house. They knew my father's financial trouble but they did not hesitate to put a new responsibility on his shoulders. My father's nature was such that he would spend his last pice for others, sacrificing himself for the cause of the country. But the Congress men never did anything to appreciate his work. My father gladly agreed to have him as his guest.

My father went to Ahmedabad in 1924 to seek help from Mahatmaji for his industrial development. He promised to do something for him but he could not do it. Had he been able to help my late father, he would not have gone to his grave a disappointed man. Gandhiji knew his troubles, but he was not able to help him. When he was our guest I was asked by my father to accompany Mahatmaji

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everywhere, which I gladly did. It was arranged that Gandhiji would address the women of the town. I accompanied him to the meeting at the Town Hall at Cuttack. In those days, there were not many Congress ladies in Cuttack, nor were they financially well of as they are now under the National Government. Very few ladies attended the meeting. Gandhiji sat on a table and spoke to them for about 15 minutes. The ladies put their *pranam* before him for Darshan. The collection was about Rs.60. Seeing the small amount given by the Cuttack ladies he was disappointed. I wanted to speak to him but restrained myself, though I knew most of the ladies were not well off. They had paid what they could.

That night my father, Mahatmaji, his Secretary and some others were sitting on a carpet in our drawing room and talking. I was also present there. Mahatma addressed me and said " I came specially to Cuttack as your guest, for I want a favour from you." We looked the surprise we felt. Then I said "I will certainly do what you want me to do, if I am able." He said "In Patna, in Calcutta and even at Cuttack those who know you have told me that you are the person who can help me, so I want your help." I said "I am much honoured because of your confidence in my ability, but I am sorry I cannot give you my promise until I know the nature of the work and of my ability to do it." But he was adamant and said he was sure I could do it for him. He said "I want you to take up Charka and introduce it to the ladies of Orissa." With folded hands I begged him to excuse me as I would not be able to make it a success, when everyone says you can." I answered "Unless I put my whole heart and soul into the work I cannot make it a success." He asked "Don't you believe in Charka.:" I said" No, the Charka will never bring salvation to India or solve its economic problems. But it is good for the cultivators. They can grow cotton in their own fields, and can make their own dhoties sarees and gamchas. But the middle and rich classes will never take to it." Then he asked me again "If you do not believe in Charka why are you wearing a Khaddar Shari ?" I replied "You are our honoured guest. I do not wish to appear before you in any Shari which will be repugnant to your eyes." He asked "Am I to understand that you will discard Khaddar as soon as I leave your house ?" I said "Yes." He kept quiet for a minute or two. Everyone present was surprised at my boldness. Then Gandhiji said again "Very well, now I shall ask from you another favour, will you do it ?" I said "Unless I

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know what it is, it is difficult for me to say whether I shall do it or not. I cannot deceive you by saying I shall do a thing which I never intend doing." He then stretched his hands and said "Give me all your sarees." I said "Please excuse me, I am sorry to refuse you again. For I know you will burn all my sarees. I do not wish to make a bonfire of my sarees. They have not hurt me and my lifelong policy in 'Waste not want not.' He said " I shall give you a dozen fine Bezwada Saries every year as long as I live." I said "I am sorry the proposal does not tempt me. If you are so anxious not to use foreign things why are you using motor cars, medicine and watches etc. They should be discarded by you. But under the present circumstances we cannot do so." Gandhiji did not like my answers. He said, "In ancient India a host and hostess would give anything to a guest and you cannot give your Sarees to me." I said "We are not in ancient India, our ideas have changed under British rule and we have adapted ourselves accordingly. We are used to so many things what we would find it difficult to give them up. If you want me not to buy any foreign things I am willing to promise." Gandhiji did not appreciate my remarks. He turned to my father and said "You hear, how your daughter talked to me." Then he addressed me and said "I want you to become a member of the Congress." I said "I shall be pleased to become a Congress woman when I shall believe in Congressmen and Congress policy. I shall let you know and come to your Ashram at Sabarmati." I asked him to pardon my bold remarks. He left our house the next evening saying that I should be welcome to his Ashram, whenever I come but I never had the pleasure and honour of being his guest at his Ashram.

INGRATITUDE

Let me take a Maharaja's case. It is needless to describe their personal characters. I knew a Majaraja's son. He called me "Didi" and I loved him like a brother. He had a beautiful wife whom he never saw. She was in great distress and asked me to help her. Inspite of all the social customs and prejudices against such action, I took up her cause and made peace between husband and wife, who lived happily for sometime, and a baby daughter was born to them. I left for England and on my return I found the Maharaja's son had become a Mahraja and had wasted all his fortune on a disreputable woman. He lost his 'gadi' and was ostracised by everyone. After my return when I went to see the

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Rani, the baby daughter requested me to bring her father to her. I did a most daring thing in entering this disreputable woman's house without the knowledge of my father. It was a most daring thing for a young girl like me to do, but my woman's instinct prompted me to satisfy the craving of the child for her father. I entered the house of the Maharaja and called him by his name. He came out and look the dust of my feet. I put my hand on his shoulder and said "come with me" and I brought him in my car to his little daughter, but could not keep him there permanently. When his mistress died, he found himself a pauper. My father brought him to our house and we tried to reform him as best as we could. The Maharani and her children were brought down by my father from her State and they lived together. The Maharani's allowance used to be spent mostly by the Maharaja for his drink. The Maharani would come to us in a state of destitution and was often in want of money for her daily needs and my father helped her many a time with money. When she was almost on the point of death after the delivery of her second son, my father nursed her day and night as she would not have anything to eat or drink from anyone but from my father. The Maharaja, his wife and daughter all had a tragic end, leaving two sons behind.

These sons knew the history of their parents and how my father had helped them but they never thought of giving a helping hand to my father when he was in great distress, neither have they ever inquired of his daughter, or taken notice of her in anyway. This is ingratitude with a vengeance.

THE PASSING OF THE GRAND OLD MAN

My late father, Sri Madhu Sudan was always physically weak. But in his case, the mind ruled the body. His indomitable will ruled his weak body with an iron hand. But this could not go on for long. He did not take sufficient nourishment for a long time and the result was a breakdown. In January, 1934 he felt very weak and hardly could digest any food. After the great earthquake in Bihar in January, 1934 my sister sent me a wire saying "Dada is very ill." I felt a premonition that it was the last illness and came to Cuttack at once. On arrival I found him lying on a couch in his bedroom, physically very weak yet full of spirit. He wanted to know all about the Bihar earthquake. He told me that I should try to raise funds for the Bihar sufferers.

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I convened a meeting of ladies and told them that we should raise at least Rs. 1,500 within ten days. My father was getting weaker daily. My two brothers the late Chandra Kumar and Jitendra Kumar arrived in due course, my late sister Sudhanshu Bala was here. We four brothers and sisters passed our time by his bedside. Crowds of people came daily to see him and to seek his blessings and many stayed at night. Col. Palit was attending him. One day he told my father "You have no disease, only for want of food you are feeling weak. You must have plenty of nourishment." My father asked the doctor a question "Is there any medicine in your science, doctor, to save a man whose call has come from above ? My call has come and I am ready to depart in peace." My late brother Chandra knelt down by his bedside and asked him "Dada have you no wish to live ? Why then do you always talk of leaving us ?" He said, "No, for I could not do any good to you all but I would like to live only for Orissa and to see my dream of a greater Orissa is fulfilled."

Daily when people were coming to see him, he wished them goodbye. With some he discussed the future of Orissa and its problems. He had a glimpse of the New Province of Orissa. He asked me in which Province I shall live after his death for I had houses in Calcutta, Cuttack and Patna. I replied, "You know very well what my position is in Patna and all about my activities there. There I have many real friends. I can also make a position for myself by my activities in Calcutta if I stay there too. But can I have the same position in Orissa ? You know your people well and their feelings towards me. I am not wanted here. I shall always suffer from inferiority complex and "dog in a manger " policy. But as you want me to stay here, I shall do so till I die. The last part of my life will be spent here. I shall severe my connection with other provinces." He was pleased with my decision and blessed me and said "Will you be able to sacrifice your ambition and stay in this house till you die." I said "Yes, I promise."

On the 3rd of February he seemed to be much better and told his friends not to take the trouble to stay here at night. He took a few teaspoons of rice as doctor advised. In the evening he reminded me to go to the ladies meeting for the collection of the Bihar Earthquake fund. I and my sister left him quiet and calm with a wish that he should sleep. I left his servant to stay near him. I was absent only an hour. On my arrival his bearer told me that my father did

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not speak, but lay very quiet, he did not like the way my father was breathing very slowly. I found a break in the breathing. I went nearer and called softly "Dada , are you in any trouble ?" He said "No." But somehow I felt that it was the last scene. I at once sent for his friends and doctors. By 10 p.m. the house was full of people. In my remembrance it was the coldest day. Men were wearing overcoats, but the Doctor opened all doors for fresh air. Very slowly and calmly the great soul was passing away. Rev. E.R.Lazarus asked him "Shall I pray ?" He gave consent by nodding his head. A prayer was offered. His favourite hymn was sung.

"I heard the voice of Jesus say
Come unto me and rest.
Lay down thou weary one lay down
Thy head upon my breast."

I was giving him a little water in a teaspoon to drink.

By 1 p.m. on the morning of the 4th of February Madhu Sudan fell asleep in Jesus. His body lay in state in the marble floored drawing room for thousands of people to pay their last homage. His body was carried in a bier in a procession as requested by several of his friends throughout the town of Cuttack. The cemetery was overcrowded. The body was covered with flowers and placed in the coffin. From Puri some friends came and the bier was covered with flowers. Many ladies took some of those flowers to preserve them in his memory and made their little children put their head on his feet for his blessings from heaven. There was a short prayer and then his body was placed in the coffin. A short service was held. The coffin was gradually lowered into the grave and covered with earth. Friends threw earth and flowers and then the whole coffin was buried. Next year a suitable monument, quite unique, was erected by me. It was unveiled by the last Divisional Commissioner Mr. E.S.Horney. The Epitaph on the grave of Madhu Sudan is quite unique. Every 4th February people go to the cemetery to pay respect to the dead and put flowers. Mr. Horney delivered the following speech before he unveiled the monument—

"My friends, we meet together today, men and women of all creeds and ranks and occupations, to do honour to the memory of one who was a great servant of the people and a great lover of all classes of people. In a life, devoted to their cause, he strove for the recognition of his race and country as a nation, as an equal and

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honoured partner in the league of the nations which is the commonwealth of India, and in death, it might well be said of him in the words of the Christian Burial Service "how shall this mortal put on immortality ?" He ever obeyed the command "Fight the good fight with all thy might" ; the fight against the power of evil, against injustice, humiliation and inhumanity, manfully he led the way towards the promised land of self-governing Orissa, and if it was not given to him to enter it, at the end he stood, like the dying Moses, on the highest peak of Pisgah, in full view of it below him, in the certain assurance that it should be the heritage of the people ; and so could cry :

"Oh grave, where is thy sting,
Oh death, where is thy victory
He is not dead : he layeth down
His sword and cross to take his crown"

Let us not forget that we owe him more than honour to his memory. He strove not for his own honour but for the honour of his nation. It is for his people to prove themselves worthy of that honour, and, as he dedicated his life to the union of the nation, so to dedicate themselves to the future of that nation. Above all he served in that selfless devotion which is perfect love. The union of Orissa by map and constitution will be an empty shadow of reality unless it is to be union of hearts, the spiritual brotherhood of all, working in selfless harmony for the common will, and we shall be unworthy of his love unless we also love."

An Englishman can really appreciate the work of an honest, selfless man, unfortunately, though we have got the privilege of being independent and we are under our own national government, there are very few men who can appreciate the work of such a man. It is really to be regretted that efforts to keep up his memory in his now State have been made so far by his daughter. His countrymen forget that they owe him more than honour to his memory.

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APPENDIX : 5

UTKALGOURAB MADHUSUDAN

SWAMI BICHITRANDANDA DAS

Madhu Babu of Oriya people, known to the outside world as Mr. MADHUSUDAN DAS, as the maker of modern Orissa. Rightly he is called the Utkal Gaurab -- the pride of Utkal. In those dark days of Orissa, he kindled the spirit of national consciousness among the youths of Orissa in the last decades of the 19th and the first quarter of this 20th Century.

Orissa was conquered by the British Rulers from different directions from the North, South, North and West ; and according to the sweet will of the then Masters the East India Company, Orissa was included in portions to the neighbouring provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and former Madras (Andhra State). The Oriyas were a fighting race and a cultured and religious people and they stood aloof from the western contact. They warded off the Mohammedan invaders till 1568. Orissa came under British Rule in 1803. They raised a rebellion in 1817 called the Paik Rebellion of Orissa by the British historians. The class Hindus did not take the western education. The country was looked upon as the pasture ground by the Civil Servants recruited from Bengal who formed as it were an intermediary Ruling race in Orissa. The British Masters did not look to the well-being of the people and as a result the Zamindaries of Orissa were sold away for pittances at Calcutta under the Sunset law (The revenue law of old Bengal) and the upper middle classes of Orissa thus became reduced to a class of landless wanderers. The clerks and other officers of Bengal became the land-holders. There was no attempt on the part of the rulers to redress the sufferings of the people. They remained satisfied with collections of land rent and taxes and unlike England and other western countries, land revenue formed the main source of income to the Pathan rulers from 1568 to 1803 and to the Britishers there after. This cruel apathy of the ruling classes brought the Oriyas to the lowest ebb of their existence. In forced distress and poverty, the Oriyas remained proud like the

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Scots or the Rajputs and never gave up their culture. Their economic conditions became worse when their trades were gone and their salt manufacture on the long coastal line abolished, to satisfy the greed of Liverpool people. There was darkness and despair all around !

Madhusudan was born in 1848 and though Orissa was conquered in 1803, there was not even a College established in Orissa and there was only a High School at Cuttack under a Head Master who had just passed the Entrance Examination. Madhusudan passed the Entrance Examination in 1864 and had to leave for Calcutta to join some College.

A scion of a noble family, then in straitened circumstances, but which had endowed temples and monasteries, found in the town life the cold neglect from all. He joined Calcutta College and completed his MA. and Law. He was a brilliant scholar and an able speaker. In fact in those days he ranked among the three great public men of Calcutta : Sri Surendra Nath Bannerji, Sri Kalibhusan Chakravarty and Sri Madhusudan Das.

The terrible famine of 1866 which decimated 10 lacs of Oriyas afflicted his mind. Although rice was sold at 5 seers per rupee, for want of facilities of roads and communications and the neglect of the Bengal Government there was a heavy toll on the lives of the Oriyas . The abolition of Salt manufacture on which the coastal people depended worsened the position. Madhusudan joined the Calcutta High Court Bar in 1877 but decided to come to Orissa to serve his country and to work for his people. He was a highly intellectual and sensitive mind which suffered poignancy of sorrow at the distressful condition of Orissa. He remembered the greatness of the Oriyas in the past, how heroically they fought and how they plied trade with Sumatra, Java, Bali Dwipa (at present forming parts of Indonesia) and he called them to arise and awake and reminded them of the ancient glory of Utkal and roused them to their national consciousness. It is he who kindled the first sense of the nationalism in the hearts of the youths and people and rightly he is called the father of nationalism among the Oriyas and thus dawned the consciousness of nationalism among them in the modern sense of the term.

He was smarting under the policy of divide and rule of the British Rulers and upon the selfish spirit of the class of civil servants

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(Amladom) of Bengal. Thus his mind received a rude shock, when his friends of Bengal stood against the recognition of Oriya language in the Calcutta University in 1902. So he decided that the Oriyas must keep alive their separate culture, language and must not lose their identity. In 1903 when Sri Surendranath Banerji organised the Bengal Provincial Conference, Madhusudan started the Utkal Union Conference which was joined by all classes of people from the prince to the peasant under the Presidentship of the enlightened Maharaja Sri Ram Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj and declared solemnly the object for which it stood. It is to reunite the Oriyas living under different administrations and bring them under one administration to develop the agriculture, trade and the industries of Utkal and to develop the culture of the people by the spread of education and literature and to unify them into one autonomous province of India. In the Conference the great portrait of Bharat Mata was hung and the Bharat Mata national Song was sung.

The great Madhusudan addressed these national gatherings and adjured the youths to live for others, to live a life dedicated to the benefit of others and for the wider nation. He saw that the revival of Utkal lay in the people's imbibing their national consciousness and reawakening and recalling the ancient glory of Utkal and of this historic nation and in developing the economic conditions of the people in following the old traditional arts and industries which were peculiar to the genius of the Oriya people and he urged the people to persist in their endeavours. He emphasised usefulness of the cottage industries, the formation of the Joint Stock Companies and Co-Operative Industries as early as 1903. He himself started the Orissa Art Wares in 1898 to encourage the filigree workers to help thousands of goldsmiths to live and he started the famous Utkal Tannery for the landless untouchables and his tanned and finished lizard skins and his boots were highly avlued abroad. The Industry fed hundreds of people who were engaged in processing lizard skins, crocodile skins and serpent skins. Really he lived much ahead of the time. He was 50 years ahead of his countrymen but the people did not take up the spirit of industrial life and did not like to develop the particular national genius of theirs but tried to seek service for making both ends meet. Even so early in 1903 he introduced Arat (Charka) the

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spinning wheel which was plied formerly in every household in Orissa ; He helped and encouraged cotton cultivation to save the people from hard competition with West and to save the struggling weavers and cultivators in their hard Competition with Manchester goods. But all his cry was lost in the wilderness as the people were mad after the Western goods and there was no awakening. It was reserved to Mahatmaji to popularise Charkha and Khadi and it is in fitness of things that our national government subsidises the efforts in the direction. Madhusudan was an erudite scholar, and advocate of high order and he was the Minister of Local Self Government of Bihar and Orissa Province. He was the first Indian to resign from the Ministry advocating that it should be honorary. His speech on freedom from industrial captivity and his speeches on the dignity of labour illustrate how he was viewing the economic problems of the country and Madhusudan Das taught this from 1903 onwards in season and out of season and practised it to enthuse the people. He was not a mere platform Speaker but a real leader of the people, who worked for them and laid his life blood in teaching the people and in uplifting them.

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APPENDIX : 6

MADHUSUDAN DAS

HAREKRUSHNA MAHATAB

Madhusudan Das was born on 28 April, 1848 in a small village named Satyabhamapur in the district of Cuttack, Orissa. Madhusudan's father Choudhury Raghunath Das was a Persian-knowing Mukhtear practising in the revenue courts at Cuttack. His mother Pravati Devi, though illiterate, was a pious lady.

Madhusudan had his early education in the village Pathsala. He passed the Entrance examination from the Cuttack Zilla School in 1864. As there was no College in Orissa, he had to discontinue his studies and accept a post in the Postal Department. After some time, with a determination to receive higher education, he went to Calcutta empty-handed and on foot, as there was no railway communication in those days. On his arrival at Calcutta, he secured the assistance of some Christian missionaries for higher studies. He adopted Christianity at this time. He passed his M. A. examination from the Calcutta Free Church Institution in 1873. He worked as a lecturer in a College for some time. Then he passed the B.L. examination. While at Calcutta, he married a pious Bengali Christian lady named Soudamini, who died a premature death.

In 1881 Madhusudan returned to Cuttack where he, in course of time, established a roaring legal practice. As a lawyer Madhusudan earned reputation not merely for his legal acumen, but for his fight for right and justice. From 1891 to 1895 he became the first non-official Vice-Chairman and then the Chairman of the Cuttack District Board.

In 1896 he was elected as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He worked as a member of the same Council for three consecutive terms, from 1896 to 1911. In 1913 he went to the Central Legislature in Delhi as a representative of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. During his membership of the Bengal Legislative Council he fought strenuously for the cause of the depressed and the backward classes. His motto was to promote the civil and political consciousness of the people. In politics he belonged to the camp of the liberals, vigorously denouncing revolutionary methods and advocating constitutional ways for the good of the country. He was a prominent member of the Indian National Congress till 1911. In Orissa he tried to bring a sense of self-confidence in the minds of the Oriyas, who were then feeling suppressed on all sides.

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Madhusudan realised that the political development of the Oriyas would be impossible, if different Oriya speaking tracts remained scattered as appendages to other provinces. Therefore with a view to unifying the Oriya-speaking areas he founded the 'Utkal Union Conference' in 1903. This Conference was a common national forum for all irrespective of caste and creed. In his stirring addresses at different sessions, Madhusudan sought to rouse national consciousness of Oriyas. Though Madhusudan died in 1934, it was mainly due to his initial efforts that Orissa as a separate political entity was born in 1936. He visited England twice, and on each occasion he placed the case of India and Orissa forcefully before the British public.

Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, Lord Sinha, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, appointed Madhusudan Das as the Minister of Health, Local Self-Government and P.W.D. As Minister, he was the author of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal and L.S.G. Acts, which gave full freedom and responsibility to the wholly elected Municipalities and Local bodies for the first time in India. After working for some time as a Minister, Madhusudan felt that as Minister in-charge of Municipalities and Local Bodies of which the Chairmen and Vice-chairmen were all honorary, he should not be salaried servant of the Government. He insisted, therefore, that he should be allowed to work in an honorary capacity as a Minister. This was not agreed to and he resigned from the office, which was a great sacrifice in those days. As it was in the case of all liberal leaders of those days, Madhusudan had no faith in the non-cooperation movement initiated by Gandhiji. With the progress of this movement and consequent decline of the liberal politics in India, Madhusudan also gradually went to the background. Madhusudan died on 3 February 1934.

Madhusudan was an advocate of social reforms. Against caste system he wrote, "Give up the variety of castes and merge yourself in the sea of nation". Female education, he said, was indispensable for a nation, for women "are indeed the springs which swell the life-blood of a nation". At his inspiration, his adopted daughter Shailabala started a widow training centre at Cuttack. Madhusudan was in favour of the rapid spread of Western education. The first Girl's High School was started in 1908 in Orissa by his adopted daughter, at his instance.

Madhusudan was inspired by two cardinal virtues of Christianity-humility and forgiveness. Though a Christian, he believed in the essential equality of all religions.

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Though his activities were mainly confined to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, he was out and out a nationalist. Regional loyalty did not stand in the way of his loyalty to the cause of Indian nationalism. In one of his speeches he said, "The mother Utkal (Orissa) is an incarnation of mother India. To do good to the mother Utkal is to do good to the mother India." "It is difficult to form the national life", he said, "when individual life has not lost its importance."

Though Western-oriented, he was critical of the English ways. In his opinion, the English were materialists and did not realise the spiritual aspect of life.

Press and platform were his methods of communication of ideas. He edited a weekly paper, *The Oriya,* to present the grievances of the people to the authorities. His important contributions in *The Oriya* were "Industrial Development", "Industrial Awakening", "War is business and business is war", "Freedom from Industrial Captivity" etc. In his writings he fearlessly criticized the policies of the British Government. He also wrote a few patriotic poems in Oriya.

Madhusudan was a forceful speaker in English and Oriya alike. His speeches were imbued with genuine national fervour.

Madhusudan thought of industrial development of India on Western model . To give stimulus to industrial growth, he started the Utkal Tannery and the Embroidery Works. He laid emphasis on the economic independence of India, which, as he believed was the prerequisite for political independence. He wrote, "We are now crying for Swaraj, but we do not realise how much we depend upon others for the pettiest of our necessaries." Madhusudan led a simple and unostentatious life. He realized the dignity of labour in his personal life. He used to say that the hand is more important than the head. This aspect of his life impressed Gandhiji very much. Charity was the air he breathed till his last breath.

The closing years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century witnessed the rapid modernization and reformation of Indian society which set the stage for the emergence of militant nationalism in the later period. Though chronologically, Madhusudan Das died a little later than the said period, yet historically he will be remembered as one of the foremost nation-builders of the formative phase of Indian nationalism.

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APPENDIX : 7

MADHUSUDAN DAS

NILAMANI SENAPATI

Madhusudan Das started the Utkal Sammilani with the object of amalgamating the Oriya speaking tracts lying then in the three provinces of Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces. He had the sympathy of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. This led to interesting and important developments. When the Utkal Sammilani was held at Cuttack, the Commissioner, who was unaware of the attitude of the higher officers issued a circular prohibiting Government servants attending the Sammilani. Sailabala (daughter of Madhusudan Das) went to Calcutta, met the Lieut. Governor and obtained an order to the Commissioner of Orissa not only to withdraw the circular, but to attend himself. This was a slap in the cheek of the Commissioner and raised Madhusudan Das and Sailabala sky high. Another important development was that Madhusudan Das, who expected that his dream of Orissa could be realised only as a gift from the British Government, declined to join the Indian National Congress which did not have British sympathy. When the British declared that Orissa would be a separate Province and outlying Oriya speaking tracts would be amalgamated with Orissa, it was too late for Madhusudan Das to change his politics.

My first contact with Madhusudan Das was by correspondence. While in the Patna College (1915-17) my scholarship of Rs. 25/- was ,more than I needed. So I used to give Rs. 5/- to an Oriya friend whose scholarship was not as good. I lost my scholarship by joining the Jackson strike. I wrote to Madhusudan Das for some help for my Oriya friend. Immediately I had a reply and a promise of Rs. 10/ - a month which was more than what my friend actually needed. I met him several times both in my house at Arrah and Buxar as well as in his house at Patna while he was a Minister in Bihar and Orissa and after he resigned the Ministership and started practising as a Lawyer. As Minister he accepted my invitation to tea even though I was the junior-most of officers. Later he appeared in my Court and

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gave me a scolding for pulling him up while he was arguing. A scolding coming from Madhusudan Das had to be taken gracefully. I saw a great deal of him when he and I were moving about with Hubback's Orissa Administration Committee and visited Sambalpur, Angul, Berhampur, Kalingia, G. Udayagiri, Puri and Cuttack. There was an occasion in a meeting of this Orissa Administration Committee when Madhusudan Das and I were on one side and the rest of the Committee was on the other side. It was over drafting the paragraph on a University for Orissa. There was a temporary breakdown as we insisted on giving a note of dissent. Ultimately Hubback brought about a compromise, so that the report could be unanimous.

When Ramsay MacDonald (later Prime Minister of England) declared in his book on his visit to India that Madhusudan Das was the uncrowned king of Orissa it was not merely the opinion of a foreigner, but also the opinion of all Oriyas.

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Part - II

Madhusudan Das : Later Evaluations

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I

MADHUSUDAN AND THE ERA OF RENASCENCE IN ORISSA

R.P. SHASTRY

For many more generations to come Utkal Gourab Madhusudan will continue to occupy a place of profound veneration in the hearts of millions of people of Orissa and inspire them to patriotic works and social activities. For about half a century he continued to guide and influence the social and political life of the State. He sacrificed all his wealth for the cause of Orissa and her people. Born on 28th April, 1848 in a middle class Zamindar family in Satyabhamapur Village of Cuttack District (Orissa) in an early period of British rule over this part of India, Madhusudan played a very notable historic role for the renascence of the dismembered Orissa Province and her crippled literature, culture, arts and crafts.

The history of Orissa from the last quarter of the 19th century to the first three decades of the 20th Century cannot be completed without adequate treatment of Madhusudan's political, social, cultural and literary activities with a special emphasis on his efforts for Swadeshi movement and development of industries in Orissa by utilising the locally available raw materials. With his all embracing great personality, Madhusudan was also a dignified teacher, educationist, journalist and a text-book writer. He was a Prince among the princes, a philosopher and preceptor among the religious teachers, a pioneer among the Oriya lawyers and one of the most respected parliamentarian and Minister. He was also a member of the Central Assembly in 1913 to 1916 as the representative of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

THE CONCEPT OF SWADESHI

Mahatma Gandhi was greatly impressed with his ideas of "Swadeshi" which he had demonstrated in the practical field in leather tanning, in filigree works, and also in the ageold weaving and spinning village industry of Orissa. His Utkal Tannery was a great revolutionary social organisation where, in the leather industry the superior caste Brahmins, Karanas and the untouchable cobblers had the opportunity to mix and work together (about half century back when the shade of a man of the so-called untouchable castes was considered as impure and sinful).

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But many people perhaps do not know that the late lamented Sashibhusan Rath, who belonged to an orthodox Brahmin family of Ganjam District and who was one of the early pioneers of daily paper journalism in Orissa was also a manager in Madhu Babu's Utkal Tannery. Mr. Rath had recorded this in his diary and which has later been put into his biography by Sharat Chandra Mahapatra who was also journalist, an author, a fighter for Orissa province and a social reformer.

AN IDEAL TEACHER

After securing his M. A. degree from the Free Church Institution of Calcutta in 1873, Madhusudan got B.L. degree in 1878 from the Calcutta Presidency College. But after his graduation in 1870, Madhusudan chose the life of a teacher for some time. He was the Head Master of Christian Missionary Society High School and Garden Reach High School. During this period he also acted as the private tutor of Asutosh Mukherji, who subsequently became Sir Asutosh and the most illustrious educationist of Bengal. Sir Asutosh had life long respect and regard for Mr. Das for his magnanimity of heart as Madhusudan gave free private tuition. In 1881 he returned to Cuttack for practising law after completing three year's practice at the Calcutta Courts.

LAW TEACHING IN RAVENSHAW COLLEGE

From 1893 to 1900 he worked as the Law Lecturer of the Ravenshaw College giving a new life to the teaching and study of law in the premier College of Orissa. His mode of teaching had attracted quite a sizeable number of Oriya boys to the law class who after obtaining their law degree distinguished themselves in various walks of life in Orissa and elsewhere and some of them also became good lawyers.

SUCCESS IN LEGAL PROFESSION

During his career as a lawyer he won many historic cases to his credit. The first case in which he shot to lime light in Orissa was the civil suit of a rich Mahant of Puri against a poor man in which the Mahanta had engaged all the top non-Oriya lawyers against that man. When the Mahant approached Madhu Babu to accept his brief he politely declined the offer on the ground that let not the poor man go undefended in the Court of Law . At last the opposite party of the Mahant, the poor man came to Madhu Babu and he took up his case and won it in the Court without taking a pie from the poor man. This was another instance of his greatness of heart and head. Next came the Puri Jagannath Temple case of 1885-86 .

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In this case his legal acumen and ability, strength of mind and above all love for Orissa's great heritage and culture were immensely demonstrated. His ultimate success in this case had won him admiration in Calcutta's Bar and Bench.

PURI JAGANNATH TEMPLE CASE

In 1885 the Raja of Puri Sri Dibyasingh Dev was transported for life being convicted in a murder case. The then Government instituted a civil case against the Raja for taking over the possession of the Puri Jagannath Temple. The Dowager Rani Surjyamani Pattamahadei challenged this as the mother guardian of minor Raja Mukund Dev. Mr. Das, though was a Christian, defended the Rani in this case for the protection and preservation of ageold sanctity of the Puri Jagannath Temple and the Raja of Puri who is held in great esteem by the entire Hindu world and who performs the most important work, the 'Chhera Panhara' (brooming of the Lord Jagannath's Ratha) before the beginning of the Rathayatra ceremony. Had the British officers taken over possession and the management of the Temple ; the Rathayatra ceremony of Lord Jagannath would have lost its sanctity and historicity of Utkal connected with this ceremony would have been affected very much. The lower Court however gave the decree in favour of the Government. Therefore, the District Judge appointed a receiver, to take over the possession and management of the temple. Then Mr. Das went to Calcutta to consult the eminent Barristers of that time about this case. Three eminent Barristers Gurudas Banerji, Evans and Woodruf, whom Mr.Das showed the records advised him not to proceed further in that case as they saw no chance of the defendant's success in the High Court. Despite this disappointing advice Mr. Das did not lose his heart and faith in the God. He himself prepared the case briefings and printed the papers at his own cost and thereafter consulted some other Barristers who gave hopeful opinion. Then an appeal was filed in the High Court. A Division Bench which heard this case had set apart three days for appellant's lawyers to argue the case. On the day of hearing the Court room was packed to its capacity as this case had aroused all India interest. The Barristers of the Rani finished their arguments within three hours instead of three days. The Judge who heard the case were simply charmed by the brief and effective style of the argument and thanked the Barristers in the open Court. The Barristers who were magnanimous persons and men of high character told the Court that the praise for this brief and argument was mainly due to Mr. Das, a

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young lawyer from Cuttack. The judges were much pleased with Mr. Das and invited him to an evening party where he was introduced to other judges and eminent persons of Calcutta. Immediately after that the Lt. Governor of Bengal invited him to the Government House for having compromise with the Rani over the Puri temple affair. In 1888 a deed of agreement between the Raja of Puri and the Government was made. The Government recognised the Raja of Puri as the Superintendent of the Temple and also agreed to allow the grand mother of Mukunda Dev to act as the Superintendent on behalf of minor Raja Mukunda Dev to manage the affairs of the Temple. Thus Mr.Das had won a great victory for the Jagannath temple and the Puri Raja holding high the traditional honour and dignity of the historic Temple of the Hindu world. Two other cases in which Mr. Das had exposed the tyranic conspiracy and the mischief of the local British officials were equally important.

MANSINGHPATNA DACOITY CASE

In a dacoity case of Mansinghpatna of Cuttack in 1902 some dacoits of Bengal were involved. But the Bengali Police Inspector Anangamohan Chakravarti, the S.P. Mr. Sur and Mr. K.G.Gupta, the Revenue Divisional Commissioner conspired and falsely instituted a case against two local people Dani and Ranga who were transported for life. In 1903 the Police also sent a confidential report against Mr. Das to the Government stating that he was a receiver of stolen ornament and he melted these ornaments in his melting workshop attached to his filigree works. Sometimes after an European Police Officer of the Calcutta C.I.D. arrested a gang of dacoits of Bengal who were responsible for the Cuttack Mansinghpatna dacoity case. When this information reached Madhu Babu he immediately wrote a letter to the Lt. Governor, Bengal for the release of the innocent persons who were falsely implicated by the Police in the case and were convicted. The innocent persons of Cuttack were released by the Governor. (Even now this dishonest practice persists with some Police officers who maliciously fabricate false cases against innocent persons.)

FALSE POLICE REPORT AGAINST MADHUSUDAN

Those non-Oriya Police officers who had instituted the false case about the Mansinghpatna dacoity had wanted to defame and discredit Madhu Babu. They had done so at the instance of some other interested persons who were highly jealous of Madhu Babu's growing fame and

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reputation as a lawyer and also as an accredited leader of Orissa. His further fault was his straight forwardness and fight for the right cause. His enemies tried to dwarf him in the eyes of the admirers in high British circle, the Rajas of Orissa and the common people . However, despite the clique of the local officers the British officers could see through the game. In the year 1904 he was honoured by the British Government with C.I.E. title

DETHRONEMENT OF KEONJHAR RAJA

Similarly, he had taught a good lesson to the Commissioner Toynbe in 1891 after he had dethroned the Raja Dhanurjaya Bhanja Deo at the instance of some designing officers who wanted to grab power and wealth from that rich state. The said Commissioner deputed some European officers who had dispossessed the Raja. At this point of time the great Oriya novelist Fakir Mohan Senapati was the Dewan of the State. The Raja came for help to Madhu Babu. Madhu Babu wanted to meet the Commissioner with the Raja to explain his case. The Commissioner was so much prejudiced against the Raja that he refused to grant him an interview to hear him personally through his counsel. This arrogant attitude of the Commissioner wounded the pride of the uncrowned prince of Oriyas, the Great Madhusudan, who immediately sent a wire to the Lt. Governor of Bengal to permit him to inspect the records in the Commissioner's office in connection with the Keonjhar. The Governor immediately granted permission to Mr. Das and instructed the Commissioner accordingly. Then the Commissioner wanted to have a compromise with Mr. Das on this issue. Mr. Das told him that he had no personal quarrel with him but he wanted to represent the case of an aggrieved Raja seeking justice for him. The Commissioner refused to hear him again. Then he wanted to inspect the records of his case in order to put it before Governor. Before Madhu Babu's meeting with the Governor the Commissioner gave a distorted report to the Governor.

ARGUMENTS WITH GOVERNOR FOR RAJA OF KEONJHAR

Then he proceeded to Calcutta and met the Lt. Governor. The Governor at first declined to hear the case and interfere in the matter because of his preconceived wrong impression about the whole affair derived from the Commissioner's report. Mr. Das told him that the Raja came to him to represent his case. But the Governor has declared his verdict before hearing him. This was contrary to natural justice and the

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British law. Then he suddenly said goodbye to the Governor and left his room. The Governor realised the mistake and came down to call Mr. Das back to his chamber and heard the case. After hearing the case he ordered for the restoration of the State to Raja. But advised the Raja to see the Commissioner. But at this stage also, Mr. Das tried to vindicate the traditional honour of the Raja by saying that the Raja's position and honour were entirely different from that the Commissioner. The Raja was held in high esteem by the people and also worshipped. The Commissioner has already refused to grant an interview to him and therefore it would not be befitting for him to seek another interview with him for the same purpose. The Governor could feel the sentiment of Mr. Das and directed the Commissioner to restore the state to the Raja. Thus the Raja went back to his state with full honour and dignity accompanied by Mr. Das. Later on when the Governor visited Orissa brought about an amicable meeting between the Raja, Madhu Babu and the Commissioner Mr. Toynbee. These were some of the important landmarks of his legal career which reflected the greatness of his character and personality.

UTKAL SAMMELANI

From early part of the 20th Century he plunged himself in the Utkal Sammelani movement for the formation of a separate Orissa province. The seeds of this great Sammilani were first planted in the Rambha palace of Raja Harihara Maharaj of Khallikote where the great Jatiya Sammelani was formed. Madhu Babu was invited to this Sammelani's first Session which was held at Berhampur soon after that. Madhu Babu wanted to have the Sammelani on a broader basis and name it as Utkal Sammelani or the Utkal Union Conference. This idea produced great enthusiasm among the participants in that meeting and then the first meeting of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Cuttack in December, 1903 under the presidentship of Maharaja Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj. In this conference most of Oriya Rajas and Maharajas from the feudatory states and Zamindar's from Ganjam and other areas of Orissa and people from all sections of the society were present.

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF SAMMELANI

The main objects of the Utkal Sammelani were outlined by Madhu Babu and accordingly the policy statement was announced. The aims and objects were formulated in the following manner : (a) Unification of

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natural Orissa. (b) Bringing about all round development of Orissa. (c) Integration of all Oriya speaking areas under one administration. (d) Protection of interests of Oriyas in the outlying tracts.

ANOTHER TUSSLE WITH THE COMMISSIONER

At the time of this first conference the then Commissioner of Orissa Division Mr. Gupta played a trick to frustrate the conference. He issued a circular prohibiting the Government servants from attending this conference. Soon after this circular went out not only the Government officers but also many Rajas and Maharajas felt shaky. At this point Madhu Babu displayed the tenacity and skill of his leadership. He sent a lengthy telegram to the Lt. Governor of Bengal bringing to his notice the partisan spirit shown by the Commissioner towards this cultural gathering of the Oriya people. The Governor promptly directed the Commissioner to withdraw the said Circular and to go to the conference to announce the Governor's order . He also sent a copy of his order to Mr. Das . Mr. Das informed all others about the order of the Governor. This conference was the beginning of emotional integration of all Oriya speaking people.

MINISTERSHIP KICKED DOWN

He was a Minister in Bihar and Orissa province. During his Ministership he had introduced a sound system of Local Self-Government in Bihar and Orissa province by passing special legislation in the Council. The main features of this system still hold good for us. Thereafter he suggested to the Governor that like a District Board Chairman and a Chairman of Local Body he would like to serve as an honorary Minister and pursue his independent legal profession. The Governor refused to accept this offer of Mr. Das. Then he wrote a very polite letter to the Governor resigning from the Ministership. From the above illustrations of his life's activities, it would seem that he never yielded on any question involving principle. He always stood for high principles and tried to uphold the honour and prestige of Utkal.

BRINGING GOPABANDHU TO PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

In 1917 he proposed the name of Pt. Gopabandhu Das for the Bihar and Orissa council for representing the Municipalities of Orissa in the vacancy caused by his own retirement. He worked ceaselessly for him even by walking in the dirty lanes of Puri Town while the coach was following him.

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SILENT WORK FOR THE POOR

He was a tireless but silent worker for the cause of poor and downtrodden. An instance of how he worked silently for the cause of the poor is given below. This is an appreciation by a high British official who out of respect had written the letter to him.

31 Rajpur Road. Delhi.
the 8th Nov. 1917.

My Dear Mr. Das.

I read with great pleasure in the Controller of Currency's report on the loan. of your offer to contribute Rs. 1-13 (one rupee and thirteen annas) each towards the cost of 2000 applications to our Rs 10/- cash certificates by cultivators and other people of small means. and I am very glad that the Controller has published this. It affords one more instance of your vivid patriotism and of the way in which you act quietly and unostentatiously while other legislators talk.

I hope all is going on well with you. I have easily arrived here and am exceedingly busy over many matters which will arise in connection with Mr. Monatgu's visit.

Your's Very Sincerely.
Sd. illegible.

FULFILMENT OF DREAM IN SIGHT

He had dedicated his life and soul for the people of Utkal and to secure the unification of the historic land of Utkal which was dismembered by the Britishers to destroy the unity and culture of Oriyas for their heroic resistance to the British aggressors who could not firmly establish their hold on this soil till the middle of 19th century. Mr. Das fought against this injustice through all legal and constitutional means. Here is another example of his great contribution for Orissa recorded by Sir Austin Hubback who was the first Governor of Orissa Province after its formation on 1st April 1936. Sir Hubback served as a member of the Attle sub-committee of the Simon Commission which had examined Orissa's case for a separate and unified Province under one administration. On 17-10-1933 just two and half years before the formation of the Orissa Province Sir John wrote the following letter to Mr. Das.

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Dear Mr. Das.

I return with thanks the copy of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal.* I am putting in a suitable passage into the report.

I hope that your Association with the Committee has been as agreeable to you as it has been with me. I greatly appreciate the help which you have given. You must be very much gratified to think that the object which you have had at your heart since many years is now in sight of fulfilment.

Yours' sincerely,
J.A. Hubback

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II

MADHUSUDAN DAS : A CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

SRIRAM CHANDRA DASH

Utkal Gaurab Madhusudan Das raised a storm in the Constitutional dovecotes of India by his action in resigning the Ministership in 1923. Mr. Das was the first Oriya to assume office as a Minister under Dyarchy in Bihar and Orissa and was also first Oriya to resign office on an issue of principle. There are two opinions in regard to the legality of his action but there can hardly be any question about the morality of the step taken by him.

Mr. Madhusudan Das was the Minister for Local Self-Government. Under the Government of India Act. 1919, a Minister was to be appointed from among the elected members of the Legislature. The Ministers so appointed normally belonged to the same political party but there was no requirement of party homogeneity among these Ministers. The provisions of the Act were satisfied if the Minister was an elected Member of the Legislative Council and if a person who was not such a member was appointed a Minister, he was to get himself elected as a member of the Council within a period of six months. Membership of the Legislative Council was not honorary, it was a paid office and the salary attached to the office of a Minister was much higher than that of an ordinary member of the Legislative Council. Local Governing Bodies were manned by honorary workers but the Minister for Local Self-Government who was at the apex of the organisational hierarchy, was paid a much higher salary namely Rs. 60000/- per annum. Mr. Das was a patriot of no mean order and he probably felt embarrassed to preside over a department which was exclusively honorary in character and as such he said on February 21, 1922 in the Legislative Council "In an organisation in which all the workers are honorary, a salaried Minister mars the symmetry and harmony of the organisation. The Office of the Minister of Local Self-Government ought to be honorary. To convert this office into an honorary one, the present official machinery needs addition and adjustment". This was a sentiment which is unexceptionable. The position of a Minister was a salaried one. It was no doubt a place for rendering service to the public but whether the service should be honorary or salaried was a question

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which had been decided by Parliament at the time of enacting the Government of India Act, 1919. One cannot accept ministership with a part of the obligations of office and renounce the rest. The moment a Minister felt that he should accept no salary for the service that he renders in his office, he should have either refused to accept office or resigned the office of a Minister, but to continue as a Minister and then refuse to accept a salary attached to that office is a position which cannot easily be reconciled with constitutional niceties. All the same the lofty idealism involved in the statement of Mr. Das cannot be doubted at all. In fact Mr. Das in a letter addressed to the Governor of Bihar and Orissa on 6th February, 1921 on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) wrote :

> I did not seek the office I am in now. I accepted it as it was accompanied by an eloquent and forcible appeal by an illustrious countryman of mine (Lord Sinha of Raipur) just before he started to take charge of this office as Governor. I had actually been requested by big land lords of Bihar to have the way for a friend of mine and I had in my humble way helped him.

The desire of Mr. Das to act as an honorary Minister was prompted by high idealism and considerations of selfless service but men of his metal are not plentifully available in the country. The other Minister was in difficulty as he was not willing to act in an honorary capacity. So Mr. Das in a letter dated 8th March, 1923 addressed to the Governor (Sir H.Wheeler) said "I was obliged to accept the proposal of a reduced pay because I found that my brother -- Minister was willing to accept the proposal and he felt that I was an impediment on his way. In order to improve his position I agreed to accept the proposal . . . I still believe that the office ought to be honorary. "The question of quantum of salary is not very important. In fact, the Congress Ministers who assumed office in 1937 accepted a salary of Rs. 500/- per mensem. In case of the Ministers under Dyarchy, the position was slightly different. The Governor was administering the Reserved Departments with the help of Executive Councillors and the Transferred Departments with the help of Ministers. The Executive Councillor carried the same burden of responsibility and dealt with the same band of departmental Secretaries as a Minister. Another Oriya, Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja Bahadur of Kanika was an Executive Councillor and was the finance Member of Bihar and Orissa. Could there be a separate provision for salary for Ministers in general or

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for a particular Minister in a particular province ? If the other Minister felt uncomfortable to act in an honorary capacity he was probably right, for there was a demand throughout the country for parity between Ministers and Executive Councillors in all respects and some Governors were even accused of partiality towards the Executive Councillors, some of whom were Europeans. If this was the problem in the country as a whole, Mr. Das naturally had to fight against insurmountable hurdles. The readiness of Mr. Das to accept a reduced salary compromised the moral values involved in his demand for an honorary Ministership but he had to sacrifice his principles to accommodate his colleague. After all, man is a social animal and Mr. Das could not tear himself away from his colleague but his bonafides are amply proved by his reiteration of the principle that he still believed in the principle of an honorary Minister.

The position taken by Mr. Das was slightly confused by the other part of his argument namely he should be allowed to continue as an honorary Minister and permitted to practise at the Bar for his maintenance. The office of a Minister was not an office of profit and the Act of 1919 permitted a Minister to continue as a member of the Legislative Council even though a salary was attached to his office. The office of a Minister carried the authority of His Majesty-- the King-Emperor of India and top Civil Servants miscalled judges and provincial Executive Officers inappropriately called Magistrates were in charge of judicial administration. All of them were subordinates of the Government and as such of the Ministers. In the system of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, not only justice should be done, the people must be made to feel that justice is being done. When a Minister appears before a judge or a magistrate as a legal practitioner, can there be the same assurance of justice being done in the minds of the client against whom the Minister-Advocate holds the brief ? Likewise, can the judges and the magistrates whose future promotions in life might be dependent on the favours and goodwill of the Minister-Advocate render justice freely and fearlessly in favour of the adversary of the Minister-Advocate's client ? Often the King-Emperor was the prosecutor in cognisable cases like arson, murder, rape, dacoity etc. Can the Minister-Advocate take up brief against the King-Emperor whom he serves as a Minister ? It is sometimes seen that an Advocate-General who is a retained lawyer of Government, holds the brief on behalf of the Government and engages one of his own juniors or erstwhile juniors on the other side so that both the sides are in the hands of the same

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individual acting as Advocate-General whereas the niceties of professional propriety remain unimpaired. Should the Minister-Advocate follow a similar procedure by not taking the brief on behalf of or against the King-Emperor while engaging his own junior to do the work ? This is professional misconduct par excellence and it is hardly possible for the Minister-Advocate to play Dr.. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde at the same time. There was thus neither legality nor justification in Mr. Das's approach to the problem. In his letter dated February 7/8, 1923 addressed to the Governor, Mr. Das said :

> Hostile criticisms in the Legislative Council, in the press and elsewhere regarding the salary of the Minister shows that the public want an honorary Minister of Local Self-Government.
>
> I am willing to work honorary provided I am allowed to earn a living by practising as a vakil. I shall not allow any professional work to interfere with my duties as a Minister . . . There is nothing inconsistent in the idea of a practising lawyer being a Minister. There is precedent of a zamindar being a Member of the Executive Council . . . A zamindar has to look after the affairs of his estate : he is a party to suits in courts and has to give evidence in court. If this is not considered derogatory to the prestige of an Honourable Member of the Council, appearance for a party in court by a lawyer should not be considered in any degree derogatory to the prestige of a Minister.
>
> The legal profession has always been considered honourable. The Provincial Governments and the Government of India have recruited members of the Executive Councils from the practising members of the Bar. Practising lawyers have been members of both the Provincial and Imperial governments and at the end of their service, have reverted to professional practice. These precedents are a complete answer to objections to my proposal on the ground of loss of prestige.
>
> A Member of the Executive Council is responsible for the administration of the reserved subjects. Law and order constitute the most important of the reserved subjects . . .
>
> Local Self-Government is a transferred subject. The responsibility of administration is transferred to the people. The Minister is an elected member of the Council. His appointment as a Minister creates a new relation with His Excellency the

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> Governor, but the superimposition of this relation does not relieve him of his responsibilities to the people and the Legislative Council which represents the interests of the people... Clause 5 [of Section 124 of the Government of India Act, 1919] prohibits the receipt of presents but it exempts from such prohibition the fees paid or payable to barristers. The word 'barrister' is meant to include other legal practitioners especially vakils practising in the High Courts... I shall consider my professional practice as a means of earning of living and if I have to reduce my comforts of ordinary life, I would not mind it considering that this sacrifice will be more than amply rewarded by bringing the people in close touch with the Government... A practising lawyer as a Minister would lend harmony and symmetry to the scheme.

The Governor naturally wrote back to Mr. Das on February 11, 1923:

> While not in agreement with the agreements which you urge in justification of such a course [willing to work as a Minister in an honorary capacity if allowed to earn your living by practising as a Vakil] I am afraid, there are to my mind serious practical objections to it. I do not see how in practice you could combine these duties while doing justice to both or either. Secondly it appears to me to be an absolute impossibility that a Minister should appear as a legal practitioner in court subordinate to the Government of which he is a member. I know of no precedent for such a position.

Mr. Das sent his letter dated February 7/8, 1923 and followed it by his letter of March 8, 1923 in which he said:

> As your Excellency rejected my proposal on the subject I do not think I should continue in this office". The Governor Sir H. Wheeler in his letter dated March 9, 1923 said:" I have no alternative but to accept it (letter of resignation.) You say that you still believe the office to be honorary but as Your Excellency rejected my proposal on the subject, I do not think I should continue in this office. I think, however, you will bear me out that in the actual suggestion made by you, you were 'willing to work honorary provided you were allowed to earn a living by practising as a Vakil'.

The Governor subsequently recorded —

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> I need scarcely say that I have received the honourable Minister's resignation with regret but I feel that it is only right that it should be known that the offer of the Honourable Mr. Das as made to me was not unqualified but was coupled with the condition that he should while discharging the duties of a Minister be permitted to resume practice as a Vaikl—a condition which I felt it impossible to accept.

Mr. Madhusudan Das was in such a moral height that it was not possible for ordinary human beings like his brother-Minister of the Government to appreciate the basic values of his stand. Naturally Mr. Das parted company with the Governor. But his idealism could have been more clearly established had he resigned his office as Minister on the ground that it was against his conscience to accept the salary attached to it and not embarrass his colleague and the Governor by insisting on honorary Ministership or coupling it with the demand to practise at the Bar. His stipulation that he should continue as an honorary Minister and practise as a lawyer to earn his living was probably not in accordance with the principles of parliamentary government as were sought to be introduced in India, though partially, by the Government of India Act. 1919.

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III

MADHUSUDAN DAS : THE CASE OF HIS INSOLVENCY

SADANANDA CHOUDHURY

This paper is based on the typed true copy of the deposition submitted by the late Madhusudan Das in the court of the District Judge, Cuttack on the 25th of July, 1927 in declaring himself as insolvent. Classified as *Form of Heading of Deposition : Misc. Case No 36 of 1927*, this document was recovered from the collection of old papers of M. S. Das kept in his once living room now turned into a museum (concerning the papers and articles of the late M.S.Das) within the buildings of the Sailobala Womens' College which once belonged to Mr. Das as his residence and herein he breathed his last as a tenant. The reading of this document in its first few sentences evoke a sense of pathos about Mr. Das who as maker of modern Orissa and its Grand Old Man was adored by his people as their uncrowned king.

It is an irony of fate that M.S.Das, who as a minister the then Bihar and Orissa province was getting a salary of more than Rs. 5,000/- per month in those days, had after a few months to declare himself insolvent in court on solemn oath. An extract of the said deposition reads as follows :

> My name is Babu Madhusudan Das. I am son of Raghunath Das. My age is eighty years. I am by caste a Christian and a resident of Cuttack where I am an advocate. I am the applicant in this case. My debts are about Rs.1,80,000/- . My assets are books about Rs10,000/- and furniture about Rs 5,000/- and tools, appliances and machines of an industry 'Orissa Art Wares' about Rs. 5,000/- . I am unable to pay my debts. I am willing to pay my assets at the disposal of the court. The immediate cause of my insolvency was because my Tannery which was worth Rs. 2,50,000/- was sold in execution of a decree for Rs. 65,000/-. To my knowledge I have no other property except that I have mentioned in my petition. The house in Cuttack which belonged to me was purchased by Mr. Hazra at the end of 1925 in execution of a decree against me in which the Raja of Parlakemidi was decree holder. Mr. Hazra purchased the decree. I am living in that house as a tenant. At first I used to pay Rs150/-. Then for a time I

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paid Rs.100/- . I have not paid since March last as I suspended my practice. Mr. Hazra was not my 'Benamidar'.

After stating these facts M.S.Das had to explain and defend the real state of his insolvency refuting at the same time his creditor's charge against him regarding 'benamidari' and concealment of property. His defence relating to the Utkal Tannery and his residential house at Cuttack is discussed in the first phase of this paper.

Among several industries started by him the Utkal Tannery was established at his 'own-cost' at Cuttack. Most of his debts were contracted for the tannery. The tannery had its accounts showing its actual expenses but was not in a position to show of how much of Mr. Das's borrowed money was spent on this project and how much for his own self.[1] He was not its director but the vendor. This company which was founded by his capital failed to pay (Mr. Das) the money due to him as its founder. Therefore Mr. Das was unable to pay his private dues.[2] So long as the tannery was under his supervision it was not incurring loss. It, of course, never worked at a profit. To earn profits it had to be organised on a large scale by floating share capitals to the public. This was undertaken a little before the company assessed at Rs. 2,50,000/- but was undersold in execution of a decree for Rs. 65,000/- to Cox & Co. The shares from the public to the extent of a lakh of rupees were received by the directors of the Company through the bank. After the sale of the tannery it earned the ill reputation of not paying its workers and managers as per the previous practice. Two of its managers Mr. S.P.Ghose and Mr. Ishmeal being not paid for some time had sued Mr. Das on wrong grounds when the company had already become the property of Cox & Co. While Mr. Das was to get Rs.2,45,000/- plus the value of the stock in trade, he was offered only Rs. 50,000/- as the price of goodwill for the company sold to Cox & Co. Thus, Mr. Das was landed in bankruptcy on account of the Utkal Tannery he had founded.

The real purpose and spirit behind the establishment of the Utkal Tannery was to set an example before the downtrodden Oriya nation in the sphere of self-employment and industrial development of Orissa, at large. So the Company was started for the sake of the Oriya nation . It was not meant to augment the personal fortunes of Mr. Das. He had substantial earnings as a vakil and as a minister for some time. Besides, being a lone figure in the world of family relations, he was far away from the allurement of accumulating personal fortunes. This has been proved in the

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overspending of his personal earnings in the work his nation. His industrial ventures were solely meant for uplifting the Oriya nation. In this respect, his life was an example of complete dedication. But this nation abandoned him when he was almost thrown out of his personal residence to the street. He was however, saved from this utter ignominy through the kindness of a Bengali family for whom he had rendered immence humanitarian and material service in the past. While this Hazra family came forward to save him from being dislodged from his residence, his dear nation for which he had given his all stood aside in cold indifference. It is indeed surprising to realise that even the most enlightened and benevolent Maharaja of Parlakemidi, Krushna Chandra Gajapati, who had made common cause with Mr. Das in bringing a reunion of the Oriya speaking peoples in a separate province and rendered remarkable service in this respect, did not desist from executing his decree which ultimately led to putting the residence of Mr. Das to auction sale. But for the Hazra family the house which Madhusudan built as his residence and turned the same to become the nerve centre of the Oriya movement would have gone to a speculator who might have put it to any purpose in his interest. Mr. Das was in fact dispossed of his house wherein he was a allowed to continue as a tenant of the Hazras who purchased on auction sale.

Even as tenant there was no respite for his troubled state of mind on the same issue. His creditors brought before the court a charge of 'benamidari' deal against him concerning the sale of the house. The Hazras were said to be the fictitious purchasers of the house to protect Mr. Das's interest against the creditor's money. In the face of this mounting personal crisis, Mr. Das had to defend himself against the accusation. He offered to explain in detail the background for the Hazras' grateful reciprocity towards Mr. Das, their old benefactor. Mr. Das explained that he was a god-father to the Hazra children following the death of their mother. As her five children came to suffer domestic unrest with the arrival of a stepmother in the family, Mr.Das had volunteered to take care of the Hazra children in their distress. In his own words as spoken before the court, he said : " I had no children as my own. Consequently I looked upon these children as my grand children. I asked three of these children to come to Cuttack and I took complete charge of their education. These children were Miss Das, Mr. Hazra and Miss Hazra.."[3] Explaining his point he further added: "It does not look strange for Mr. Hazra to have purchased this in auction.[4] He and Miss Das supplied the funds. The idea

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of purchasing the decree originated from them. I knew nothing about it until they came here to pay the money. I was opposed to their buying it".

In addition to these two charges, several other complaints of transfer of property or its concealment were brought against him. One of them was regarding Mr. Das's landed properties in Cuttack and Puri towns including his Puri house called 'Sailasram'. All these were mortgaged to creditors' debts. Some of his lands referred to by debtors as assets were found to be mistakenly shown in his name in the revisional settlement. In fact, he was left with no assets except books and furnitures on which his debtors could lay their hands. Since his mortgaged property far exceeded in value than the loan they were tied the fixation of an 'equity of redemption' left him with some assets after clearing his loans. He had applied to the government for appointing a receiver for the purpose. Since that was not done, he had to undergo this painful experience of declaring his insolvency and defending the same in self pity.

On the same score as referred above, he had also to defend the transfer of a small property worth two to three thousand of rupees to the widow of his brother for her maintenance. Regarding this property too, half of it belonged to her by the right of inheritance. As to other allegations, of this nature, he had to convince the court that he did not possess a motor car; that he had no house in Patna; that no furnitures were removed from his house by Mr. Hazra; that he had suspended his practice from 28th to 30th June (1927) and earned little in his chamber; that he had not earned Rs. 1,00,000/- (One Lakh) in the adoption case of 1920 which he had to leave unfinished on his appointment as minister and things of this sort.

One more instance of exploiting Mr. Das's goodness (and victimising him thereby) is cited as below. A person of his stature had been victimised by the unscrupulous manipulation of a money lender named Babu Ganeshlal Pandit. While Mr. Das had borrowed Rs. 7000/- from Ganeslal, he was sued for Rs.29,000/- , by the former on the basis of two hand notes which the money lender had cunningly collected from Mr. Das to put a false claim Rs. 29,000/- This has been explained in detail by Mr. Das in his own words –

> I executed this handout at his request as there was a previous handnote which he produced. It was understood that accounts would be looked into afterwards and that he would allow me certain concessions for services done by me . Before I filed my petition I asked him for accounts. But he did not reply. It may be

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that I had executed two previous handnotes for Rs. 15,000/- and Rs.10,000/- . It is not a fact that I had paid Rs. 200/- as interest on this hand note to save it from being time barred." [5]

The defence of Mr. Das against his detractors convinced the court. His petition for seeking insolvency from the court was granted. An extract of the verdict of the District Judge, G.J. Monahan of this issue reads as follows :

In my opinion the evidence which has been at present produced on behalf of the applicant is sufficient for this purpose and I am satisfied that there are prima facie grounds for holding that he is unable to pay his debts. I see no sufficient reason to doubt the existence of these debts. Also I am prepared at present to accept Mr. Das's statement in his deposition that he is not in a position to pay them." [6]

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2. Ibid : Cross Examination on 27th July. 1927
3. Ibid
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IV
MADHUSUDAN AND GOPABANDHU

R.P.SASTRY

In the last part of the 19th Century Orissa's social political and economic life was in a staggering condition and the cultural life was sought to be suppressed under the dominating influences of the neighbouring provinces which had the advantages of the political and administrative backings of the British rulers. Eminent historians, linguists and literary men of some of the neighbouring provinces blinded their visions to the great Oriya literary works of Upendra Bhanja, Kavisurjya and many other distinguished Oriya poets, and the voluminous Oriya epic the Sharala Mahabharat, Jagannath Das's Oriya Bhagabhat and the century old arts and architectures of the Oriyas and made attempts to obliterate the Oriya language from its own land.

UTKAL DEEPIKA

At this critical juncture of the history of Orissa, *Utkal Deepika* the most powerful paper of Oriyas, made its appearance at Cuttack in 1866 as the saviour of the Oriyas. 'Deepika' true to its name kindled the new light and saved the Oriya language and culture from extinction. It was the voice of "Orissa". That voice grew louder and louder from mouth to mouth and it was able to reach the deaf ears of the British rulers who did not want to reunite the Oriya-speaking population which had been dismembered by them for its strong opposition to the British conquest and occupation of this part of India.

MADHUSUDAN DAS

Madhusudan Das born in 1848 in Satyabhamapur village of Cuttack District in a small zamindar family. This was the boy who blossomed to a great leader in this State to be popularly called as Utkal Gourab (pride of Orissa) who saved this historic race of India from complete collapse and extinction. Madhusudan had his early education in an usual village atmosphere and passed his E ntrance Examination in 1864 from Cuttack High School. He passed his F. A. Examination 1868 and B.A. in 1870 and qualified forM. A. degree in 1873 and B.L. degree in 1878. In 1881 he returned from Calcutta to Cuttack and started his legal practice. Almost simultaneously at that time two political-cum-cultural organisations of Oriyas called 'Utkal Sabha ' at Cuttack and 'National

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Association' at Balasore came into existence and Madhu Babu reactivised these two organisations as the true instruments to voice the demands or Orissa. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was started and in 1886 'Utkal Sabha' decided to send its representatives to att end the Congress session Madhu Babu also started Oriya Graduates' Association to awaken the educated youth of Orissa and to create a sense of new awareness in them. The Utkal Hitaisini Samaj of Parlakhemidi was started by Pattayat Padmanabha Dev in 1901 to keep the Oriyas united culturally and emotionally.

In 1901-02 the Ganjam Jatiya Sabha came into being at the Khallikote palace. Then in 1903 came the great Utkal Sammilani which secured the fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of Orissa for a separate province under the leadership and guidance of Madhusudan.

GOPABANDHU DAS

When Madhusudan began his struggle for the formation of separate Orissa province by amalgamation of the Oriya speaking areas, he had many Rajas, Maharajas, lawyers and other supporters. But he was looking for a dedicated and sincere patriot and friend who would unburden him at the time of great stress and strain. Pandit Gopabandhu Das filled up this vacuum in his life as the true representative and friend of the common people of Orissa whose language he spoke and whose message he carried in his bosoms. Born in 1877 in an orthodox Brahmin family in Suando village of Puri district Gopabandhu knew what was the proverbial poverty of the village of Orissa and also he knew how to help those poor people and to give cheers to them and to show them the path of light in the darkness of illiteracy. Gopabandhu passed Entrance Examination in 1899 and received his B.A. degree 1904 and in 1906 got his B.L. degree. By this time Madhusudan was renowned lawyer and an accredited leader of Orissa and Oriya movement. He attracted Gopabandhu — the young law graduate who had the zeal and mind to serve the cause of Orissa and her people. Gopabandhu though had great respect and regard for Madhu Babu and responded to his call, he had also his own way of serving the people. He started certain unique social service organizations through which he served the people in distress and spread literacy and learning among the people. In 1906 he started the Central Young Utkal Association in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack with the Principal as the Ex-officio President and he himself (Pandit Gopabandhu) as the General Secretary. In 1907 when large parts of Kendrapara and Jajpur areas were submerged

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under the flood waters, the volunteers of this Association reached the people with relief materials like chura, rice and cloth for distribution among the distress people. Another batch of volunteers collected funds from other areas for the affected people. The branches of this Association were opened in different schools. This was the beginning of the first social and humanitarian service by Gopabandhu. To fulfil his other ambition of life for spreading literacy, Gopabandhu joined as the Head Master of the Nilagiri High School and gave a start to it on a strong foundation. He then joined the Bar at Cuttack and Puri. Now, there is much talk going on in the country for providing free legal aid to the poor by lawyers who do not want to sacrifice their fees for giving legal aid to the poor but want to take the fees from the Government for the poor. But Gopabandhu did not believe in such kind of legal aid to the poor. He himself helped the poor people wherever he found that it was necessary.

Mr. Das who was highly impressed with Gopabandhu's legal acumen and public spirit recommended his name to Maharaja Rama Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanja to appoint him as the State's legal practitioner and pleader. Gopabandhu joined and continued in Mayurbhanj State as the state pleader till the death of the Maharaja Ramachandra Bhanja Deo in 1912. Although he went to the Mayurbhanj State for a short period he was taking keen and active interest in the public activities in this part of Orissa. His short stay in the feudatory State of Mayurbhanj which was reputed as one of the progressive and well-managed States of its kind however gave him an opportunity to know intimately the ways and methods of the autocratic Garjat rulers and their administrations.

SATYABADI SCHOOL

In 1909 Gopabandhu had already started the Satyavadi M.E. (National) School with Pandit Nilakantha Das and others in which Pandit Godavarish and Acharya Harihara also joined little later. This School soon become popular for its qualitative education and character building value.

UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE

Madhusudan continued his struggle to arouse the people of Orissa to press their demands for the separate Orissa province. The Utkal Union Conference which was the sole representative organisation of the Oriyas for the establishment of linguistic, cultural and emotional integration

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enjoyed the supports of all including the Garjat rulers. Zamindars and the common people. The Oriyas who lived in different provinces also came closer under the banner of this organisation.

GOPABANDHU'S WORK IN OUTLYING ORIYA AREAS

Madhusudan controlled and guided the affairs of the said organisation. Gopabandhu also joined this organisation and gave it a new image by his practical works to keep up the cultural, literary and linguistic affinity and independent identity of Oriyas then living in Bihar, Bengal and other provinces. He started an Oriya High School at Chakradharpur and deputed Pandit Godavarish to take charge of it. At Bahadaguda of Dhalbhum he also started an Oriya M.E. School. In order to spread the Oriya language and literature he started weekly *Samaj* on the 4th October 1919.

NEW IMAGE

The Utkal Sammilani was no longer a resolutionary body of Rajas and Maharajas of liberal persuasions but it slowly gained a revolutionary character under the new leadership of Gopabandhu Das. In 1918 the Puri district was hit by a severe drought followed by big floods. This led to the development of famine conditions in the district. The Utkal Sanmilani at a largely attended meeting demanded to declare Balianta, Gop and Banpur as famine areas The Government took the stand that if the Commissioner recommended for the declaration of famine in these areas then only the Government may do so. But Mr. Grunning, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, tried to falsify the demand of Utkal Sammilani. Gopabandhu took up the matter in the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council and challenged the Commissioner's statement by showing the wild roots, leaves, etc., which are being consumed by the starvation affected people and also showed their skeleton like photographs in the Council. At last the Governor agreed to personally visit Orissa and assess the situation. Accordingly, Mr. Edward Gait, the Lieutenant Governor, came to Orissa on the 7th April, 1920 in response to Pandit Das's request in the Council and made his own assessment. But Pandit Das knew the ways of the British bureaucracy and their Indian stooges. Despite the Governor's personal assessment of the gravity of the situation, the Government did not declare famine. However, Mahatma Gandhi deputed Thakkar Bapa to Puri to work in the famine areas. As a result of his effort about 2 lakhs rupees came from different parts of India for the relief work. Pandit Gopabandhu

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whose heart was with the suffering people did not remain content with this . He made another attempt to expose Commissioner Grunning's anti-people attitude and Governor Edward Gait's lack of courage and moral stamina. Some time later Gopabandhu brought another resolution in the Legislative Council for having a survey of all the flood affected areas of Orissa and for finding out ways and means for its remedy. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed in 1922-23 and the Committee after investigations made certain very useful recommendations. But the Government accepted only a few recommendations and rejected most of them on financial grounds.

MADHUSUDAN'S UNYIELDING PERSONALITY

Madhusudan also never yielded to the British overloads and the bureaucrats on questions involving principles.

Most of the Commissioners and the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal/Bihar and Orissa provinces were friendly to him. But he did seldom sacrifice the just causes or the principles to please them. There were a number of instances when he took stiff attitude and bold stands against the unjust orders of the Commissioners and the Governors and convinced them to see the reasons. During the time of the first session of the Utkal Sammilani at Cuttack Idga ground in 1903, the then Commissioner of the Cuttack Division Mr. Gupta issued a circular prohibiting the Government employees from attending the session of the Sammilani. This circular also created dilemma in the minds of some of the Garjat rulers who came to attend the Session which was being held under the Presidentship of Maharaja Shri Rama Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj. When Madhu Babu came to know about this unjust circular of the Commissioner he sent a lengthy telegram to the Lt. Governor at Calcutta and got the Commissioner's order rescinded. The matter did not end there. The Governor also directed the Commissioner to announce the Government 's decision personally at Sammilani in which permission was given to the Government employees to attend the Sammilani.

Earlier to this, there was a similar incident in 1891 with Commissioner Toynbee of Orissa Division during the time of uprising in Keonjhar State. The Commissioner Mr. Toynbee and some of the British officers were sympathetic to the uprising in Keonjhar and were bent upon for dethroning the Raja Dhanurjaya Bhanj. The Raja had to run away from his State to save himself. He came to Madhu Babu and took shelter under him. Madhu Babu who was a friend of Rajas and Maharajas did

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spare no stone unturned to reinstall the Raja on his 'Guddee' with dignity and honour. He immediately sought an interview with the Commissioner Toynbee to discuss about the Keonjhar matter. But Mr. Toynbee was so much displeased with the Raja that he refused to see him. This refusal by the Commissioner wounded the pride and prestige of Madhusudan. He immediately sent a telegram to the Lt. Governor at Calcutta and obtained his permission to go through the records in the Commissioner's office relating to the Keonjhar State and ruler. When the Commissioner came to know about this development he tried to have a compromise with Madhu Babu regarding the Keonjhar matter. But by that time Madhu Babu was aware of the mischief and clique of the European officers including the Commissioner for the removal of the ruler from the State. He prepared a good case and went to meet the Lt. Governor. The Lieutenant Governor was already biased against the Raja by the Commissioner. So he did not like to change the orders of the Commissioner by which the ruler was dethroned. When Mr. Das found the Lieutenant Governor Sir Alsey Eden was not in a mood to change the orders of Commissioner Mr. Toynbee due to his preconceived notions about the ruler of Keonjhar basing on the report of the Commissioner without giving him adequate chance of hearing the case of his client. he told Sir Alsey Eden quite politely but firmly that the Lt. Governor has already declared his verdict even before hearing what the ruler had to submit before him in his defence. He came here a long distance under the full belief that the Lt. Governor's post was created to hear the grievances of the affected individual and if necessary to give them justice and appropriate relief. But today he has been disillusioned. After hearing these words from Mr. Das. Sir Alsey came up to Mr. Das and asked him not to leave his room and then he read his case with due attention and asked Mr. Das if the Raja was really innocent. When Mr. Das vouchsafed his innocence the Governor passed orders for the reinstatement of the Raja to his 'Guddee'.

In Puri Temple case also. Mr. Das fought with equal tenacity against the British officers who tried to takeover the management of the temple when the Raja of Puri Dibyashingh Deo was transported for life and his son Mukund Deo was a minor . He won the case against the Government in Calcutta High Court and the Ranee Surjyamoni Pattanahadei. the grand mother. was appointed as the guardian of the minor. The Ranee was also authorised to manage the temple through a manager. Similarly, Mr. Das had also saved the Raja of Khandapara, Natabara Pratap Singh who

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was convicted in Cuttack Court on charge of Murder. Mr. Das appealed for him in Calcutta High Court and got him acquitted.

COMMON FACTOR

The few instances from the lives of the two great leaders and the architects of Orissa province have clearly established one common factor that both of them were men of character, conviction, courage and determinations who fought for the right causes. But there was one very subtle difference in their individual attitudes and associations. Madhu Babu, who earned like a Prince and lived like a Prince, always had an air of superiority of calibre and never allowed any Indian feudal aristocrat or any British aristocrat to overshadow his great personality either in style or in manners. He lived and moved with them with equal dignity and pride, like Jawaharlal Nehru who while maintaining his Indian cultural heritage of greatness and magnanimity also ranked equally high among the European aristocrat and intellectuals. This was Nehru's character. Even during most delicate and crucial talks with the Viceroys of India Nehru always talked to them maintaining his dignity, honour and the great charm of his personality.

On 27th August, 1946 the Viceroy Lord Wavell invited Gandhiji and Nehru for talks regarding the formation of interim Government. During the talks Wavell generally showed his bias for the Muslim League and tried to browbit the Congress leaders. At one stage he exploded with an unusual burst of temper and said "Don't you see, if it will be a Congress Government, it is bound to be lacking in impartiality." Pandit Nehru immediately reacted to this remark of the Viceroy Lord Wavell and said: "You misunderstand the composition of the Congress Party. Your Excellency, not, I may say for the first time. The Congress is not pro-Hindu or anti-Muslim. It is for all the people of India." At another stage, Nehru told Wavell— "We cannot help if we are lawyers". Lastly he told him in other words, you are willing to surrender to the Muslim League's blackmail'. Ultimately, Lord Wavell had to leave India with his repentant remarks before his private secretary and chief adviser, Mr. George Abell on 19th February, 1947 on breakfast table saying : 'They have sacked me, George' : after a pause he added, 'They are quite right, I suppose.' On the 20th February, 1947, Labour Party Prime Minister, Mr. Attle announced in the House of Commons that power would be transferred to India by a date not later than June, 1948. He also announced the resignation of Lord Wavell and appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the next Viceroy

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of India. The above narration reflects Nehru's strength of mind and courage, unyielding character and the intellectual frame of mind which gave him the capacity to talk to even to the highest dignitary of the land in pre-independent India on equal terms. Like Nehru, Madhusudan also talked to British aristocrats and the top dignitaries on equal terms. Madhusudan though remained far away from the village crowds, he however occupied the hearts of millions of Oriyas like Nehru who occupied the hearts of millions of Indians and people in other countries.

GOPABANDHU AND COMMON MAN

Gopabandhu Das who followed the Gandhian ways was always in the midst of the common people sharing their sorrow and happiness. He gave cheers and comforts to the common people at the time of their sorrow and gave them inspiration to follow the ideal of plain living and high thinking. In 1920 he brought the message of revolutionary ideas of the Congress Party to Orissa and merged Orissa in the national mainstream. He popularised 'Charkha' Khadi, boycott of foreign cloth and British goods in Orissa . Madhusudan also equally moved on the same road popularising handspun cloth, Orissan filigree, Utkal Tannery and cottage industries. In 1917 Madhusudan in an article captioned *War is Business and Business is War* said :

> We are now crying for 'Swaraj' but we don't realize how much we depend upon others for the pettiest of our necessities. A Nation that hands over raw materials produced by it to foreigners in order to get finished goods from them is indeed a mere infant in the field of Industry. We get our supplies of cloth, of shoes, even of a needle, infact of any thing of our every day needs from foreigners. Yet we demand "Swaraj"— such Swaraj is meaningless.

In 1925 Mahatma Gandhi when visited Cuttack he was guest of Madhusudan Das. He was very much impressed with the tannery of Mr. Das from social and economic points of view. In 1923 Mr. Das resigned his Ministership on the ground that he did not want to take any salary as a Minister. This proposition of Mr. Das was not acceptable to the Governor and the British administrators of India. Therefore, he resigned on this issue.

MADHUSUDAN'S TRIBUTES TO GOPABANDHU

The friendship, cordialitly and feeling of brotherhood between Madhusudan and Gopabandhu cannot be measured by ordinary standards.

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Those were in the core of their hearts. I produced below a letter written by Mr. Das during the fateful days of the Non-cooperation movement which will speak the depth of feeling and love he had for Gopabandhu. He said : "I am anxious for your health. I have grown desperate and may pass away any day. You are the only person with whom I should like in my death bed. Take care of your health".

LET MY MORTAL BODY MINGLE IN THE DUST OF MY COUNTRY

Madhusudan was already 75 years oldwhen he resigned from the Ministership in 1923. By that time Gopabandhu was only 46. With his youthful vigour and with no family burden, Gopabandhu dedicated his life to the cause of the poor and the downtrodden and moved from village to village to serve the suffering humanity without caring for his health, by which he shattered his health. Because of this, perhaps, Madhusudan grew more apprehensive and asked him to take care of his health. But Gopabandhu, a man of the people, could not remain behind the doors looking after his own self when the people faced starvation and death. From the innermost part of his heart he sang the glorious song ' let my mortal body mingle in dust of my country and let my countrymen walk over it'. This was the philosophy of life of a true servant of the people and a man of God. He passed away from this mortal world at the age of 51, seven years before the death of Madhusudan. In the death of Gopabandhu, the true spirit of Gandhism in Orissa disappeared though the Gandhian methods were used as a strategy by some others to meet the challenges of the time. In 1934 in the death of Madhusudan, the end of a glorious chapter of the history of Orissa was marked.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SAINT

Madhusudan and Gopabandhu abhorred the idea of making personal gains through national service. In one of his famous writings Madhusudan said :

> Life is a race, the world is a race course. Birth is the starting point, death the goal and duty the fence to keep us straight on the way to that goal. It should be the aim of our young men to realize the presence of soul within them, to feel that life is a mission The object of life is not pursuit of pleasure for one's self, but to seek opportunity and means to make others happy.

What Madhusudan said in his writings, Gopabandhu had shown in practice in his life. He seldom lived in palatial buildings, seldom

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enjoyed pleasures of life. In the language of 'Bhagavat Geeta' Gopabandhu was a 'Sthitapragnya'. In Bhagavat Geeta Srikrishna told Arjuna, ' When one thoroughly abandons all cravings of mind, and is satisfied in the self, then he is called stable mind'. He also said: 'He, whose undertakings are all free from desire and thoughts of world and whose actions are burnt up by the fire of wisdom, him the wise call a Pandit." This is perhaps the true description of Pandit Gopabandhu Das who never desired any personal recognition for his works. He never craved for any title nor did he want any monument in his memory.

Pandit Gopabandhu lives in the hearts of lowly and those who suffer and he will live for immemorial ages whether we erect memorials for him or not. Madhusudan Das, though had accepted the British title C.I.E., he too liked to work silently for the poor and underprivileged people for which he never wanted any recognition from any quarter. I give below a noble example of his silent works and charity for the poor. A top ranking British officer of Government of India wrote the following letter to Mr. M.S.Das appreciating his good works. The letter was written on 8th November, 1917 from 31, Rajpur Road Delhi. It read as follows :

My dear Mr. Das.

I read with great pleasure in the Controller of Currency's Report on the load of your offer to contribute Rs. 1.13 (one rupee thirteen annas) each towards the cost of 2000 applications to our Rs. 10 cash certificates by cultivators and other people of small means, and I am very glad that the Controller has published this. It affords one more instances of your vivid patriotism and of the way in which you act quietly and unostentiously while other legislators talk.

I hope all is going on well with you. I have easily arrived here and am exceedingly busy at present over many matters which will arise in connection with Mr. Montagu's visit.

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V

MADHUSUDAN DAS : HIS CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL THOUGHT

SRIRAM CHANDRA DASH

I

Political thinkers are the products of their time and circumstances. Persons belonging to the same country at an interval of even fifty years have thought differently about the institutions and tendencies of the country as was seen in the case of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, both of whom belonged to England in the seventeenth century but because Hobbes had experienced the civil War and Locke, the Glorious Revolution, their ideas on the individual and the state are fundamentally at variance. Likewise political thinkers of England and Germany at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century like Bentham and Kant have nothing in common in their thought. Contemporary Indian political thought is based on the reaction to the circumstances prevailing in India and every one, no matter to whichever part of the country he belonged, reacted almost in an identical manner subject to minor variations dependent upon his education and foreign contact. Till the first world war, Indian thought was coloured by the liberal thought of England, as Indians had more intimate contact with England and the British political literature. It is only after the war that Indian thinkers had a wider field of contact with countries other than England and many of our leaders came in closer contact with U.S.A., Soviet Union, Germany, France and Asian countries.

Orissa was a neglected part of India. She had no political identity of her own ; the Oriya-speaking areas had been scattered in the erstwhile Presidencies of Madras and Bengal and the Province of Central Province and Berar. Coastal Orissa was a division in Bengal till 1912 when the Lt. Governor's Sub-Province of Bihar and Orissa was created and it was only in 1936 that Orissa was made a separate Province with a few areas taken from Madras, Bihar and Orissa and Central Province and quite a large number of Oriya speaking tracts still remained in Bengal and the aforesaid Provinces. Orissa came under the British rule in 1803 whereas Bengal was brought into the East India Company's domain in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey and even though for administrative convenience, Orissa was tagged to Bengal, the Oriyas were not as much advanced as the

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original residents of Bengal and they had to make much lee-way to come to the level of the latter ; still the Oriya leaders had their education in Calcutta, they had their provincial Capital there with the Governor, the Legislative Council and the High Court and it was also the capital of India with the Viceroy and the Imperial Legislative Council. The contact between Begal and Orissa was so intimate that there were common ideas and sentiments among the leaders of two people. Contribution made by persons like Surendranath Banerjee, Bankim Chandra Pal and the terrorists after the partition of Bengal had their echo in Orissa also but the predominant current of Oriya thought was amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts, for which the Oriyas organised the Utkal Union Conference (the Utkal Sammilani) in 1903 on the model of the Bengal National Conference and in fact, Madhusudan Das thought of such a Conference only after Sir Surendranath suggested to him to play host to the Bengal National Conference.[1] The Utkal Union Conference wa the final form of the Utkal Sabha or Orissa Association which Das had formed in a miniature form in 1882.

Madhusudan dominated the political stage of Orissa till after the first world war when he become the first Oriya to accept office as a Minister, and the first Indian Minister to resign after two years in office.[2] When the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi started non-cooperation movement in 1921, Madhusudan stood aloof from militant politics and handed over leadership to a younger colleague of the Utkal Union conference, Pandit Gopabandhu Das. Gopabandhu accepted leadership of the non-cooperation movement in Orissa, subordinated the Conference to the Congress and formed the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee with himself as the President. Gopabandhu stood at the Centre of a group of people who constituted the Satyabadi School and provided Orissa with a number of leaders like Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Godavarish Mishra, Pandit Krupasindhu Misra and Acharya Harihar Das. Nilakantha was a member of the Central Assembly from 1924 till 1946 and he entered Orissa Assembly in 1952 and remained as such till he became the speaker in 1957 and retired in 1961. Godavarish was in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council from 1927 till 1935 and in Orissa Assembly from 1936 till his death in 1956 except during the period 1946-52 and was a Minister in Orissa between 1941 and 1944, Pandit Krupasindhu died young and Acharya Harihar after being in active politics till 1934, followed the constructive

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programme of Mahatma Gandhi and after Mahatmaji's death, he became a follower of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Thus Gopabandhu created a band of leaders for Orissa and embarked on many novel experiments in the fields of education, literature and politics. The Satyabadi School stands pre-eminent in the History of Orissa and Gopabandhu would have risen high in national politics had he not died at an early age of 51 in 1928. A year before his death, Lala Lajpatrai took him as a member of the People's Society and made him its Vice-President. The two leaders of Orissa who made important contributions to the contemporary Indian political thought are Madhusudan Das (1848-1934) and Gopabandhu Das (1877-1928). Lesser celebrities may be left out of account for the purpose of the present paper.

II

Madhusudan Das was an Advocate by profession. He had his education in Calcutta and he even started his practice as a lawyer in Calcutta High Court. Prior to this he was a teacher when he had the honour of being the private tutor to Sir Ashotosh Mukherjee. He lived in Calcutta from 1866 till 1881 when he shifted to Cuttack and started legal practice there. He entered the Bengal Legislative Council in 1896 and remained a member in 1897- 1900 ,1901-1902, and 1908-1911. For two years, he was also a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. On the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912, he joined its Legislative Council in 1913 as a member and continued as such till 1927. He was a prolific writer in the journals and newspapers of those days ; he delivered Presidential addresses in numerous Conference in his long life of 86 years and participated in the deliberations of the legislature. He was not a scholastic philosopher ; he was a practical statesman. His views are there in his speeches and writings and not in systematically arranged books.

He had been associated with the Congress from 1886 till 1903 when he diverted his attention to the Utkal Union Conference which he founded that year with the help of the Rulers of a number of feudatory states like Mayurbhanj and Zemindars of Ganjam district in Madras Presidency.[3] His Utkal Sabha had been converted into a Provincial unit of the Congress from October 6, 1888 and was the earliest Provincial Congress Committee in Orissa.

Madhusudan was not parochial at all ; he had a lofty sense of idealism. In explaining the objectives of the Utkal Union Conference he said in an address of October 25, 1903 :

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In Europe, nation means the people of a state or a country. Just as the nations of Europe differ from one another in many respects, the people of different Provinces in India also similarly differ among themselves. For this reason, the word 'nation' has a specific meaning in India. It is necessary to build up national organisations to forge unity and establish friendship between two groups of people or two societies. Cooperation among different nations is essential for the development of any one nation and it is necessary to organise this Conference on this model. In this Conference, the Oriya people and the Oriya residents in other Provinces are only promoters. Let us build up this organisation based on self-reliance.[4]

In his presidential address to the Conference in 1913, he said:

It is necessary first to understand the meaning of the Utkal Union Conference and before that, one should know the significance of the term 'Union'. There are several kinds of unions in the world. Even matters are joined together. The carpenter joins two pieces of wood. This is an instance of joining together of inanimate matter...In chemistry when two substances are mixed together, the resultant substance takes a new form and its properties are different from those of the two substances mixed. For example, water comes out of two units of Hydrogen and one unit of Oxygen. These tow gases are invisible whereas water is visible. Gas goes up but water follows down ; the attributes of water are entirely different from those of Hydrogen and Oxygen. Thus a Sammilani is such a kind of fusion that the identity of different units composing it is altogether lost. Unless individuality is completely submerged in national life, real union does not take place. The objective of the Utkal Union Conference is to promote the welfare of all the residents of Orissa. The Utkal Union Conference is the assembly of the Orissa People.

He declared in the second Conference in 1904, "Delegates of the Oriyas Bengalees, Telugus, Gujaratis, Marwaris and other categories of people have assembled here. If this Conference is not regarded as a national organisation, then the Congress also cannot be so regarded."[5]

In 1912, he said in his address to the Conference:

I do not understand the meaning of the Union and many others also have not understood it. This is not an assembly like the meeting of the insurers of an Insurance Company or of the Karan

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> or Brahmin Community. A few money-lenders may assemble in their self-interest. Karans and Brahmins also meet together. There is no limit or number of these assemblies. There are lists of members of these other assemblies. But there is no fixity in number or list of members of the Utkal Union Conference. The entire Oriya people are its members. First it is necessary to forget that it is a meeting of a company— it is a national assembly. It responds to the national demand and it will satisfy the national needs.[6]

In a message to the All-Orissa Students' Conference on September 28, 1927, he said:

> The development of national consciousness should be the chief object of these conferences. Our students should be taught to distinguish between corporate bodies and a nation. When a number of men form an organised body with a common object to be accomplished, they form an association, a company, a syndicate and even an unlawful assembly to commit an offence. In such cases, they draw their inspiration from the common object..... A nation cannot be organised. We do not know when a nation was formed. A nation has its history which is a record of the achievements of the ancestors of the present generation. You cannot create a nation. The chief object of a national history is the achievements of our ancestors. Each student must feel that behind him stand his ancestors, before him are his progeny and his object of life is to connect the past and the future so that the result is a homogeneous whole.[7]

This compares so well with Burke's ideal of the nation. In 1933, while addressing a Leaders' Conference, he said, "Rouse the conciousness of the nation. Lay your lives at the altar of my nation. Attain this position and stand as one of my nation where it stood in the old days. Do not wish ill of any nation. If you want to be leader of the nation, do not try to be at the head".[8]

In his presidential address to the Conference in 1913, he had posed the question:

> Have we a national life? National life is necessary for international intercourse. We have individual lives. Individual life is short-lived, it ends in the cremation ground. The soul inside the body reaches God. My worldly cravings like my wife, my children, my property always drag me downward. The attraction of divine life

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pushes me upwards to my eternal abode. There are other nations and societies all around us. It is our solemn duty to merge our lives with these nations and societies and have intercourse with them. National life alone can lead to international friendships.[9]

Elsewhere he said:

Every individual has two lives : one is particulars and the other is national life. If any one abuses me, I will be annoyed and many of you will also be annoyed. This will hurt my particular life. You will thus realise that every one has two lives and he will progress on the path of his own progress or the progress of the nation to the extent he regulates these two aspects of his life. Egoism is the lowest step of human life. Then comes welfare of associates, then family life and then national life. If you try to promote national well-being before the national conciousness is generated you are not expected to succeed.[10]

Further he said:

National life thrives on the graveyard of individual life. The candle has to burn itself out to emit light. Numerous rivers drain themselves into the sea. The waters of each one of the have their own colour, taste and chemical properties but once the rivers fall into the sea they submerge their individual property with the volume of water of the sea. This is the law of nature. This is the way of human progress.[11]

Writing on *National Consciousness* in a journal called *The Oriya* edited by him in 1915, Madhusudan said:

We speak of national consciousness. We should understand its meaning. In ordinary language, this means a state of mind. Man very often believes that he experiences something. He may deceive himself ; so one should test himself. The small 'I' regulates our consciousness every movement. I will improve 'my' condition and enhance 'my' respect. I will develop in every respect. This is self consciousness. This is just the opposite of national consciousness. Absence of self-consciousness can alone bring in national consciousness. In other words, self-sacrifice for the sake of the nation is national consciousness.

The only test of national consciousness is readiness to sacrifice one-self for the cause of the nation. This is the lesson we have learnt from the last war.[12]

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Madhusudan realised the value of industrial development and for this, he had started the Orissa Art Wares in 1897and theUtkal Tannery in 1905 with his own resources. The Utkal Tannery supplied shoes required by the British Army in the first World War and in all the theatres of war in West Asia and Africa. He was such a stickler for quality that in order to maintain the good name of the Indian products, he threw away goods worth lakhs of rupees on account of being substandard in quality. Because of this unbusiness like attitude, he invited insolvency upon himself, though he had earned crores of rupees in the war period. His 'Orissa Art Wares' was intended to provide occupation to the skilled filigree workers of Cuttack who had earned great reputation as craftsmen. He had said, "If a bad pair of shoes or a badly tanned hide falls into the hands of a foreigner, he will say that the Oriyas are cheats, I cannot earn such a bad name for my nation".[13]

He had a definite approach towards industrialism. In an article entitled *War is Trade and Trade is War* in 1918 Madhusudan writes —

> We have ambitions for Home Rule but we don not think to what extent we are dependent on other nations. A people or a country which supplies only raw materials to another country for the manufacture of necessaries, is in the lowest state of industrialism. We cover our shame by importing cloth from other countries. Foreign countries supply all the luxuries and necessaries that we need every day ; still we want Swaraj. What is the extent and objective of this Swaraj ? This Swaraj cannot retain Swadeshi industries in its hands. Unless people develop industrial enterprises country's trade cannot develop. The capitalists are anxious to invest all their capital in land. Land can yield only agricultural produce ; it cannot supply cloth, shoes, umbrellas or hessian cloth. So long as the financiers or capitalists or zamindars control the economic forces of the country, there is no hope for the growth of commerce. It is regrettable that capital is in the hands of those who are ignorant of the elementary principles of economics. They are rich but they do not understand the value of education.
>
> In the present day, there is no real co-operation between the hands and the brain. The artisans or the manual workers are one class. The society has been divided as intellectuals and workers but human progress is possible only by the cooperation

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of these two classes. The country cannot prosper unless agriculture and industries simultaneously develop. Agriculture provides raw materials for use in the industries. Students of social science should realise this interdependence of industry and agriculture. This is integral eduction. Europe is trying for this kind of education. This kind of eduction will eliminate the difference between intellectual and manual workers".[14]

Madhusudan had delivered an address on February 17, 1924 in the Bihar Young Mens' Institute Hall, Patna, on *Dignity of Labour,* in course of which he said :

> Volcanic eruptions bring up to the surface the things hidden in the bowels of the earth. Social upheavals force on our attention the feelings of a population. The recent non-cooperation movement was a social upheaval. I do not wish to look at the political aspect or significance of the movement. It first appealed and appealed forcibly to the student community. Boys who spent their infancy and a part of their boyhood in remote villages, left their village life, changed their dress, their habits of daily life and pursued with vigour and ardour the study of a foreign language with a view to secure some high official position or to take to one of the learned professions--these boys and young men left their school and college and took to plying the charkha. Did these young men believe that the earnings of plying charkha would gratify the ambition with which they took to English education ? Did they expect that the charkha would gratify their pecuniary appetite ?
>
> A short time after, they returned to their places in schools and colleges. These facts have a lesson for us if we do not shut our eyes. They prove the existence of a keen desire for manual occupation. The head is stocked with knowledge, the hand is starved. The famished hand took to this occupation just as a starving man would eat any food without pauing to enquire whether it was healthy or not.

Proceeding further he said :

> Let us see how this social upheaval affected the masses. The poor peasant who does not get two proper meals a day paid his mite for getting swaraj. What does swaraj mean to him ? It means to him the dawn of an era when he would live more comfortably,

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when he would earn higher income: in a word, to him swaraj means an improved economic condition. The peasant's hands are his assets in life. He earns his bread by manual labour.

The peasant's assets are his hands. The Zamindar's assets are his lands. Culture of land is agriculture. Culture of hand is industry. I am aware that agriculture has been called an industry but differentiation on the basis of their essentials should not place agriculture in the category of industries. A branch of manual labour which affords facilities for a progressive culture of the hand securing higher wages at successive stages should be properly called industry. This is not the case with the hand working on land.

We had in the past and have now a section of population which is landless. They have no occupation assigned to them by the custom of the province and most of these people belong to the untouchable class. . . Their isolated position has driven them to earn their livelihood as criminals.[15]

In his presidential address to the Bihar Students Conference in 1912, he said :

As long as we do not increase the value of the hands of our nation, we cannot increase the wealth of the nation. The artisan cannot have an increase in the value of his hand unless his social status improves. Unless this is done the educated people cannot give up their scorn for manual work. The hand-work of the artisan finds a place in the drawing rooms of the Emperors, Rajas and Maharajahs but the artisan himself has no access there.[16]

Elsewhere he said :

We have to compete with Europe and manufacture the same goods as Europe does. It cannot be said that there is no capital in Orissa but people are eager to invest capital on land. People are unwilling to invest capital in industry with the fear that because of want of industrial know-how, they may sustain losses but they do not understand that agriculture like industry may be a losing concern : rather losses in agriculture may be of much greater magnitude. For, losses due to lack of knowledge and discretion do not occur twice. If knowing full well about the uncertain results of litigation, people are ready to start any number of cases, why are they unwilling to incur a little loss through industry ? There is no reason other than misunderstanding behind all these.

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A man who believes that progress of Orissa lies in her industrial development, should devote his labour, intelligence and wealth to it. Let him give up the hope of profit. May be, he will die a poor man but the fruits of the seed sown by him will be enjoyed by the future generations of Oriya people. If the value of the hand of a craftsman once increases, it will never again fall ; the number of such hands will continually increase. In the death of an individual, the life of the nation increases. This is the law of nature.

If in the present condition of Orissa, any one believes that national development lies in industrial progress, let him treat his industry as his own child and nurse it in infancy. Later on, Orissan industrial products will earn name and fame in the world and Oriya workers will be prosperous. The kings of Orissa had built the temple of Lord Jagannath for the good of India by spending crores of rupees. Let me hope that there are such philanthropist in Orissa today and let them not falter in doing their duty to their motherland.[17]

Madhusudan Das was not content with only speeches and writings, he followed up his advocacy by personal efforts for the realisation of his goal. For the purpose of amalgamating the Oriya speaking tracts, he negotiated with Viceroys Lord Curzan and Lord Harding and succeeded in getting Sambalpur for Orissa from Central Province and Berar and making Orissa a division in the newly created sub-province of Bihar and Orissa. He had also met Mr. E.S.Montagu, the Secretary of State and Mr. C.R.Attlee, the Chairman of the Orissa Committee of the Simon Commission to press his demand and was a member of the Orissa Administration Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir John Hubback after it was announced in the White Paper of the British Parliament that Orissa would be made a separate province in 1936. He lived long enough to hear this announcement but died on February 4, 1934, just two year before his brain-child was born.

He had gone to England twice, and once in 1897, and once again in 1907 to press his claims for Orissa and industrialism. In 1897, he met Sir George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India to argue his case. In 1907, he circulated a memorandum entitled *Discontented India* among the members of the British Parliament and read a paper on *British Influence on Indian Industry* which was greatly admired by the Press. He met Mr.

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John Morley, the Secretary of State for India. Madhusudan describes his discussions with Morley in the following words:

> I told Mr. Morley that if he wants to have despotic government in India, he should train the members of the I.C.S. accordingly, so that they can serve as better instruments of despotism. The British young men are trained as free men in the schools and colleges of England. They learn to hate despotism. They see in England popular institutions managed by the people. They are educated to rule over free people but when they go to the Indian Provinces to carry on administration, they are told that India is not a free country, so they should run a despotic administration. Every young officer is given instructions to exercise unfettered powers. These young officers try to be despots but they ultimately fail : for they are not trained in the art of despotic government.
>
> The despot tries to study human character from a special angle. The despot knows where to be kind, so that he can carry on oppression later. If the Czar of Russia rules over England, he will be hanged within forty-eight hours. On the other hand, had Queen Victoria ruled over Russia, she would have abdicated within forty-eight hours.

This indicates the intensity of patriotism of Das.

Commenting on the Mont-Ford Reforms, Madhusudan said in his address to the Utkal Union Conference on September 21, 1918 :

> The present government in India is comparable to a pyramid and it rests on its top. A foreign bureaucracy carries the burden of the British Empire in India. This force of political gravity will remain intact, arrangements are only being made to spread the pressure of the Empire over a wider field. This is a very complicated problem. Those who will try to solve the problem, can alone measure its importance.
>
> The people will be punished, because government wants it. The Ministers will be punished if they do not act according to the whims of their employer, the Governor. The powers to be transferred to the people's representatives will go back to the government. By this, both the people and the Ministers will be punished. According to these reforms, the officers will lead the people to their goal of responsible government. This will mean, blind men leading the blind. How can these officers who run an

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alien administration and who are ignorant of self-government, lead the people towards responsible government ?[18]

Despite these strong views on the Mont-Ford Reforms, Madhusudan accepted office in 1921 as Minister for Local Self-Government in Bihar and Orissa on the insistence of his friend, Lord Sinha of Raipur, the Governor of the Province. He got a Municipal Act enacted and a Local Self-Government Act was in the process of enactment. Soon thereafter, he wrote a letter to the new Governor Sir Henry Wheeler on February 7/8, 1923 in which he argued :

> The success of the reforms must be decided by the nature of administration by the Local Bodies. Medical Relief, Sanitation, Communications and the Education of the masses are subjects, the administration where of has been transferred to Municipal and District Boards. . .The new Municipal Act makes the Municipal Boards wholly responsible for the municipal administration. The Local Self-Government Act now before the council will make the District Boards responsible for the administration of the rural areas. . . The members of these local bodies are honorary workers. Honorary offices means sacrifice from a sense of duty to the king and the country. These local bodies when constituted under the new Act will need constant guidance and advice of the Minister of Local Self-Government. In order that the Minister might exercise an influence over the honorary workers throughout the Province, it is necessary that he should be an honorary worker. A salaried official over the heads of thousands of honorary workers is an anomaly. He cannot command their respect and consequently his appeals to the patriotic and benevolent feelings of the people will make the schemes a subject of ridicule to the people. To ensure the success of the reforms, it is necessary that the Minister of Local Self-Government should not draw any salary but should be an honorary worker.
>
> In India, personal influence is an important factor when we have to secure the active sympathy and cooperation of the people. Personal influence is earned by working without remuneration. Gandhi's activities in India have proved to demonstrate the value of sacrifice as the price of personal influence.
>
> Hostile criticisms in the Legislative Council, in the press and elsewhere regarding the salary of the Minister show that the

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public want an honorary Minister of Local Self-Government.[19]

The Governor and the other Minister did not agree to accept the offer of Das, so he said :

> I was obliged to accept the proposal of a reduced pay because I found that my brother Minister was willing to accept the proposal and he felt that I was an impediment in his way. In order to improve his position, I agreed to accept the proposal. My brother's position being now secure, I beg to resign my office as Minister of Local Self-Government. I still believe that the office ought to be honorary but as your Excellency rejected my proposal on the subject, I do not think, I should continue in this office.[20]

He never coveted any honour and when it came unasked, he felt uncomfortable. When the title of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1904, he was not very happy as he wrote to the Governor of Bihar in 1921, "When I received C.I.E., it was preceded by a long personal telegram from Lord Curzon. I saw the Bengal Chief Secretary of the time and begged to be relieved of an honour which would not sit kindly on me".[21]

Next to industrialism, another glowing passion with him was women's education. He established a girl's school at Cuttack in 1908 and sent one of his dead friend's daughter to England to receive higher education there and take charge of the school on return. This school is now a Degree College located in his own residential house. He also had made another daughter of this dead friend an Advocate and as women were not then allowed to practice at the Bar, he fought for her enrolment. The Privy Council ultimately rejected her application. Das persuaded the Viceroy and Sir Hari Singh Gour, an eminent legislator to amend the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879 in the Central Assembly on August 8, 1923 . Even Calcutta University did not allow this woman, Miss Sudhansubala Hazra to join the Law College but Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the Vice-Chancellor and one time pupil of Das, made an exception in her case. Thus he was always a crusader for noble causes.

On women's education, Madhusudan writes —

> A nation cannot develop without the education of her women. We take pride in our past but the nation then meant both men and women. Now the nation means men only. The women do not take part in any activity of the nation and we also do not want to give them this part.
>
> Wealth and learning are two valuable instruments of life. Man marches forward on the path of progress surmounting all

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obstacles. It is surprising that a nation which worships both these instruments in form of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and Saraswati, the goddess of learning, shall be opposed to women's education. Two women had awakened and controlled the imagination of Balmiki and Vedavyasa. There would have been no Ramayan without Sita. The present glory and empire of modern England are the handiwork of the queens, Elizabeth and Victoria. "All women, old, young or child are the mother of men. The children of the old women are at present playing their roles in the national plane. The children of the young women are at present getting ready for similar roles to be played in future. The girls will be mothers tomorrow. This is like the water course of a river. Just as the water of a river cannot flow to a level higher than its bed, no nation can in like manner ascend higher by keeping its women at a lower level.

The child learns many things from his mother and the knowledge acquired at this stage is regarded as the social capital. The graduates of our country do not know as much as the young boys and girls of seven or eight years of age of Europe. The reason for this difference in knowledge lies in the education of their parents and they learn many things from the daily life of their educated mothers.

So in my humble opinion we should endeavour with all our heart to spread women's education in order to develop the nation. If modern education has failed to build up the pupil's character, that is because of absence of women's education.[22]

He wrote elsewhere :

Our women must be educated but they should be given such education as will not make only 'Ladies' of them. We respect women with western education. They have of course many admirable qualities but we should imitate that child who told his mother. 'I like to eat sweets but I do not want to be a sweet myself.' It is not desirable to entrust the foreigners the full responsibility of education our women.[23]

Towards the close of his life, he said in a message dated August 1, 1931 to Orissa Women's Conference :

In Orissa, man has treated women as if she had been created to do service to man and God did not assign to her any special duty in

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the composition of the nation. The advice of any man is irrelevant. A few women have joined man in political agitation of the day. They serve man in their political ambition. Whether woman serves man in domestic life or political life, it is in a subordinate position. Both ignore the Divine object in creating woman. You should enquire who has made European nations, what they are father or mother and then decide what is your duty and what should be your line of action.[24]

On education in general, Madhusudan wrote in 1918 —

Modern education has produced undesirable results. The Government feels that the present tendency for unlawful activity is the result of modern education. As a consequence, the students are placed under various restrictions. The students are not allowed to attend public meetings or to read newspapers. They hope that these measures will produce loyal subjects. The modern educational system does not realise that the child has a soul and the teachers do not feel that it is their duty to help the students to realise the ideal or goal of their life. Many people consider the present educational system as God-less. I say that it is soulless.[25]

Thus like all patriots and savants of the pre-Gandhian era, Madhusudan Das had an idealistic approach towards diverse problems of national life. Had he continued his political career in the broader context of Calcutta or Patna, he could have established himself as a frontrank leader of the nation but his ardent Oriya patriotism as an inseparable segment of Indian nationalism tied him to the limited atmosphere of Orissa and he strained every nerve of his to bring about multi-faceted development of his people. The Oriyas still cherish his memory as the Father of Modern Utkal and he lives in the hearts of his people as the Grand Old Man or the Glory of Utkal.

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VI

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MADHUSUDAN

BIMALKRISHNA PAL

MADHUSUDAN IN THE EYES OF HIS CONTEMPORARY

It is rightly said that 'the life history of Madhusudan is the history of Modern Orissa.' This was realised when Madhusudan passed away on 4th February, 1934. On 5th February late Janakinath Bose (father of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) made a touching reference to this fact in the Cuttack Circuit Court of the Patna High Court in the following words :

> My Lords, with a heavy heart I have to mention the sad death of Mr. M.S.Das whose life history for the last fifty years has been the history of Modern Orissa. When heart is full, voice is silenced and I have not yet fully shaken off the shock which I felt when I heard of his demise. Your Lordships will find that his was a varied and useful career. In fact, when I look round me I find that it will be extremely difficult if not impossible, to find any man to fill up the gap that he has created by his death. He combined in himself, if I may be permitted to mention, three distinct cultures. Being the son of the soil belonging to a very respectable Karan family at Cuttack, he imbibed ancient and comparatively modern culture of Orissa. Then he went to Calcutta to get his education there and came in contact with very learned and respectable Missionaries there, and he thereby imbibed the best of the European culture, and if I am permitted to say, he freely mixed with most respectable families of Bengal and thereby he also imbibed many a peculiarity of Bengali culture. To my mind he always appeared to be the embodiment of three distinct cultures that we knew of. My Lords, I had the honour and privilege of associating with him for nearly fifty years and I can say it is very difficult to find a learned and cultured man like him. He loved his mother country with all his heart, with all his soul, and I think, though he is dead he is still living and then he will be searching the interest of Orissa from above. As an educationist, he began his career as a school master and he did very well as such; in fact if your Lordships will excuse me, when I say that I learnt my grammar from the 'Model Questions' that he had been publishing at Calcutta when I think he was the

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Headmaster of the Garden Reach School in Calcutta. Then it will be worth mentioning and he had mentioned that to me more than once that having been the tutor of the late lamented Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, he had the privilege of moulding his character not only intellectually but morally. On one occasion when Sir Asutosh was asked after a speech he delivered in English as to from whom he had learnt the English, he said that it was from Mr.Madhusudan Das. My Lords; in fact for the last 43 years he has been the life and soul of Modern Orissa."(I. C. L. T. 4)

MADHUSUDAN & RESURRECTED ORISSA

It is difficult for the present generation of youth to appreciate the contribution of Madhusudan to the building up of a modern Orissa. Orissa in the 19th century was a land of abject poverty and misery. As the official Gazetteer shows, in the District of Cuttack alone ten lakhs of starvation deaths were reported through the then available sources in the famine of 1866. Flood, famine, pestilence coupled with the administrative negligence obduracy in the fields of education, public health, agriculture, communication industry presented an inconceivable state of affair under which no leader without the spirit of complete self-denial, total self-effacement and unflinching self-control could work. As an industrialist, educationist and politician Madhusudan inaugurated an age of Resurrection and Renaissance in Orissa. In all his famous speeches he referred to the "Mother in the Death Bed". To express in his own words "he found only the heaps of dry bones, bones, bones nothing but bones, he undertook the tremendous work to infuse life, to give muscles and arms to his people with ammunition, without any help from anyone except the Father above." As the great German philosopher has said, "A nation is never grateful and the greatest teaching of History is that it teaches nothing. " The contribution of Madhusudan the statesman, Madhusudan the politician, Madhusudan the educationist, Madhusudan the industrialist are about to be forgotten not only in the din and bustle of modern politics, but by manifold developments and projects brought about by the successive administrations in the Province since 1st April 1936.

MADHUSUDAN AS A POLITICAL PROPHET

But even in the midst of national-forgetfulness, Madhusudan, the poet and philosopher, Madhusudan the orator and spiritual leader of the nation lives. He lives and is bound to live not only in the hearts of

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the people of Orissa, but also in the memory of the Indian Nation as a whole. In his mission and lesson of life we find that many intricate social and political problems of India to-day stand analysed and solved. His words still guide us as a beacon light in thorny path of national fulfilment. He held that political careerism does not fit in with the idea of social and political service in India. "Unless you burn yourself like the wick of a lamp, you cannot impart light to others" — he said. His life-mission was to initiate and infuse a "National Life" into the people of Orissa (Utkaliya). Nobody could dare to interpret this national life (Jatiya Jeeban) as provincialism (or Stateism of today). At least Sri Aurobindo or Sri Motilal Ghose have not done it. To him "National" life is opposed to "individual careerism". We say my profession, my property, my convenience and my prosperity. Madhusudan said that if all of us are individually rich, prosperous, happy, and are highly educated, this does not mean that our nation is rich, happy, prosperous or educated. On the contrary, individually we may be poor, but our Nation may be enriched by our contribution. He exhorted all to undertake industrial undertakings even with risk to lose in the business, as in our failures we leave a national experience which will enrich our posterity. His interpretation of Nationalism (in 1894-1903) —considered too original when he spoke. Strangely his ideas forsetalled the cult of Swadeshi before the Swadeshi Movement was envisaged in Bengal, and it forestalled the cult of Sarbodaya of Mahatma Gandhiji and Binobhaji before their advent on the political horizon. Lastly his definition of provincial Nationalism in 1904 forestalled the legal and constitutional elements of the State and the Union under the Constitution of India, 1950, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of India. Last but not the least his insistence on the moral and spiritual values for any socio-political life in India, appears to be prophetic in view of the collapsing moral fabrics of the political life in India, to day.

MADHUSUDAN'S THEORY OF PROVINCIAL NATIONALISM

The Press Trust of India reports on February 24, 1968 that the Union Home Minister Y. B. Chavan deplored in his Aurangabad speech the increasing fissiparous tendencies among the people in the country. Mr. Chavan said, "... it is a matter of regret that we have not been able to unite as a strong nation, capable of facing internal problem and saving it from external dangers since the achievement of independence." He continued, "Assamese were thinking in term of Assamese only and wanted

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non-Assamese to quit Assam. The same trend was discernible in Maharashtra and West Bengal".

One of the historical reasons for the present upsurge of an undefined and menacing type of exclusive "Stateism" is that the Indian National Movement from 1885 totally ignored "Provincial Nationalism" altogether, as it never existed. So a sudden emergence of Provincial Nationalism in some of the States or Provinces is an upstart growth, and there being no history or constructive thought behind it, its protagonists are unaware of its legal content and of its constitutional limitations. Moreover having opted for a Constitution with all its fundamental rights and seven freedom (Art.19), there cannot be a constitutional and legitimate basis for the growth of exclusive-Stateism under the Indian Constitution. A movement which is unlawful from its origin cannot thrive except as a vehicle of a desperate abnormal political psychology, deliberately designed to overawe Law and Order and to hit somebody else. But under Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan, "Provincial Nationalism" was from its very inception (1903) defined, delineated and demarcated and deliberately distinguished from narrow "provincialism". Madhusudan did not accept Dr. Sachidananda Sinha's view that Love for one's own province is a sort of subordinate Nationalism in India. Madhusudan held that Love for our province is Love for Mother India herself. He defined Oriya-Nationalism in such a way that along with other complimentary provincial nationalism it would serve as a bed-rock of Indian Nationalism. In his famous address he compared Provincial Nationalism with flooded rivers surging forward to empty themselves in the ocean of Indian Nationalism. Strangely enough this analogy fits in with our Vedic concepts of harmony between Provincial cultures and National culture in India. The vedic Text runs as follows:--

Ima yah panca spadiso
Manavi panca Kristayah
Vriste sapam nadiriveha
Sphatim samavahan.

(As the swollen rivers carry their wealth of waters, let all our different provinces and their human cultures unite their wealth here.)

He declared, "Mother-Utkal is not a separate entity separate from Mother-India. She is not a co-wife to mother-India, nor is she her enemy." "This conception of Mother-Utkal is a specific manifestation of the conception of Mother-India "(Cuttack speech). Further he declared that —

> There is no conflict of loyalty between our respects for the images of Mother-Utkal and Mother-India. If any particular spot of one's

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body suffers that part requires treatment. But the treatment of that particular part of the body amounts to the treatment of the body as a whole. All our aims to develop Mother-Utkal is the progress of India. . .This day we are seated in the lap of Mother-Utkal. whose lap is the very lap of Mother-India too. Let each of us take vow that. 'every day I will think for five minutes for my country and I will henceforward devote at least five minutes for the service of Mother-India. for Mother-Utkal and for this Utkal Sammilani'. (Oriya Speeches)

MADHUSUDAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF NATIONALISM

Madhusudan harmonised Provincial or State-patriotism with that of National-patriotism through a unique line of reasoning :

> The ultimate ideal of the progress of human Civilisation is progress towards altruism with progressive elimination of self-interest. In the physical world two objects cannot produce a third unless and until the initial two forsake their former characters. National-consciousness cannot unite us till we abandon our individual self-interests. Being thus nationally united what is the ideal of National Service for the sons and daughters of Orissa? To serve the interests of Orissa and of the Oriyas means to serve for the upliftment of Orissa's peasantry and artisans and to develop national industry so that every one in Orissa would be benefited(Madhubabunka Odia Vaktruta O Geeta - ed. Nabakishore Das, p. 31)

He declared in the same vein :

> ...this Sammilani is established to infuse National spirit in the hearts of all people of Orissa. Its aim is not to cater to the needs of any particular community. This Sammilani is established to serve those aspects of National interests which benefits all the people of Orissa. He. who says to himself 'I am the son of the Mother Utkal, I am born here and I wish to die here, may he be a Bengali, a Muslim, a Brahmin. a Karan. an untouchable like Kandara or Pana or a Punjabi— they are all sons of Utkal. What is the meaning of the term Oriya Nation? It means and includes nothing less than this— He who considers himself as the son of Utkal and feels proud of Her past glories and desires a glorious future. I consider him to be included in the category of the Oriya Nation. (Ibid p.46).

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Madhusudan denounced the attempt to utilise the platform of Provincial-Nationalism for personal careerism and for camouflaging personal disputes under the guise of Provincial-Patriotism.

IDEALS OF ORIYA NATIONALISM

Having thus defined the contents of provincial Nationalism and its universe of discourse, Madhusudan indicated the directions to which it may be directed. Use of Swadeshi products and wearing the cloth woven by our own village-weaver is the sine-qua-non of our Nationalism. To ameliorate the condition of the village peasants, agriculturists, artisans are the other indispensable conditions of an Oriya being a Nationalist. In the field of education the question of higher education in schools, colleges, and universities to fulfil personal or family-ambition are all secondary. The real problem is to educate your hand, your eyes, your legs and your muscles for undertaking monotonous manual labour which alone is the foundation of National wealth. He declared: "All human beings have their hands, eyes, ears, noses and tongues. Efficiency of the different physical faculties is as import as the cultivation of the mind. It is the user of these faculties that increases National wealth and the progress of the different European Nations illustrates this truth" (Ibid p.35). He said :- "We have to remember that ultimately We have to compete with Europe and We have to produce all the articles which are now produced in Europe". The first step is therefore to work hard for the amelioration of the conditions of the artisans and the industrial labour. Madhusudan's appeal for industrial renaissance in Orissa is rather pathetic. He said— "Consider industry as your child and nurture it from its infancy. Later on you will find that industry will not only benefit Orissa but make her famous in the wider field of "world Industry" (Ibid p.41).

MADHUSUDAN, A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER

It is needless to emphasize the spiritual background of Madhusudan's leadership. He abhored the idea of personal gain through national service. In one of his English writings he said :

> Life is a race, the world is a race course. Birth is the starting point, death the goal, and duty the fence to keep us straight in the way to that goal. It should be the aim of our young men to realise the presence of a soul within them, to feel that life is a mission, the object of life is not pursuit of pleasure for one's self, but to seek opportunity and means to make them happy!! (*Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan*- N.K.Das p.219).

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In his last speech to the Nation delivered at the Leaders' Conference in 1933, on the event of the formation of the separate province he delivered his last message : "Rouse the consciousness of the Nation. Lay your lives at the altar of my nation. Attain this position and stand as one of my nation where it stood in the old days. Do not wish ill of any nation. If you want to be leaders of nation, do not try to be at the head."

This philosophical insight to national problems and a search for spiritual enlightment of man guided the politician in Madhusudan and his political philosophy.

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VII

MR. MADHUSUDAN DAS : A STUDY IN ENTREPRENEURIAL PERSONALITY

SURENDRA NATH JENA

> The self-centred, active individual is a disruptive force, and there are periods in the rhythm of history when the cake of custom must be broken, when that disruptive, innovating energy is socially advantageous and must be given freer opportunity. But the social or group motive is even then latently powerful, while for normally longer periods of the rhythm the motive of social stability and order enjoys the more marked social approval. It then becomes active in building and defending social institutions and in seeking security for its members. Edwin F. Gay.[1]
>
> The 'entrepreneur' as visualized becomes a concept much too broad and general. He turns out to be an extremely elusive entity, at times difficult to find, or not to be found at all, and frequently so subservient to other entities and ideas that he does not warrant the search. Primary orientation in economic life is commonly non-economic. Causation is extremely complex and as a result, very serious difficulties arise from divorcing the entrepreneur from the institutional setting and 'psychological atmosphere' with which he has been most commonly identified. Concentration on entrepreneurial functions or 'tasks' tends to a neglect of change initiated by non-entrepreneurial forms and such change is very common in economic history. The act of innovation, per se, is very often less significant historically than the structure and motivational aspects of those situations in which the innovational act takes place. W.T. Easterbrook.[2]

Half a century history of Orissa from 1881 to 1931, is epitomised in the biography of Late Mr. Madhusudan Das, the immortal son of modern Orissa. True, he lived for four score and more (28.4.1848 to 4.2.1934) years, but he settled down at Cuttack as a lawyer in 1881 and the waning of his glory was conspicuous in his insolvency in 1927. During that span of fifty years Mr. Das dedicated himself for the political, social, economic and cultural growth of Orissa. He was admired and emulated by the young, respected and regarded by the old, adored by the poor and appreciated by his equals. It is for posterity to say of his success as a statesman, as a

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politician, as a legislator, as a lawyer, as a minister and above all as a patriot. In the early seventies Late Biju Patnayak, an ex-chief Minister of Orissa and an entrepreneur of post-independent era, announced to distribute fifty thousand copies of Mr. Das's photograph in Orissa. Late Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab, another ex-chief-minister and political leader of Orissa, has written that Mr. Das can be put on a par with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, Rt. Hon'ble Srinivas Sastri, Sri Surendranath Banerjee and other equals.[3] But "Mr. Das died a martyr to the cause of Industry and to the uplift of his countrymen" said late Acharya P.C.Ray of Bengal.[4] In other words in the field of enterprises he met with defeat. Perhaps that was also actually tragic as he became bankrupt and lost his all, because of these economic adventures.

Why did he fail ? Or why did those enterprises prove grinding stones round his neck ? Even at any point of time it could have been a bold reality to see an economically regenerated Orissa as Orissa politically united and reinforced, as well as culturally rejuvenated and reoriented. But very strangely the cart was put before the horse. The humble attempt in this paper is to assess the entrepreneurial personality of the Grand old Man of Orissa and to explore the futures of the social milieu in which he had to articulate. It has been said by an U.N.O. Committee of Experts that —

> ...there cannot be rapid economic progress unless the leaders of a country at all levels -- politicians, teachers, engineers, business leaders, trade unionists, priests, journalists-- desire economic progress for the country, and are willing to pay price, which is the creation of a society from which economic, political and social privileges have been eliminated. On the other hand given leadership and the public will to advance, all problems of economic development are soluble. We wish to emphasize that the masses of people take the cue from those who are in authority over them. If the leaders are reactionary, selfish and corrupt the masses in turn are dispirited and seem to lack initiative. But if the leaders win confidence of the country and prove themselves to be vigorous in eradicating privileges and gross inequalities, they can inspire the masses with an enthusiasm for progress which carries all before it.[5]

To what extent then the entrepreneurial leadership of Mr. Das was pervasive and persuading during that period ? Was he like that proverbial baniyan tree not allowing lower echelons to take up the place of innovators and

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leaders in the economic field ? Orissa is slowly and steadily running the race as the fable's tortoise and certainly the goal will be reached under the auspices of the Planning Commission which is now determined to eliminte regional imbalances. The natural resources will be fully developed and the G.N.P. will move up. But to what extent the 'Oriyas' will shed away their backwardness and by what year will be for the future to speak. It is said –

> Although the 'underdevelopment' of natural resources may cause the 'backwardness' of the people, it does not necessarily follow that any efficient development of natural resources resulting in an increase in total output will always and pari passu reduce the backwardness of people. On the contrary, the problem of economic backwardness in many countries has been made more acute, not because the natural resources have remained 'underdeveloped', but because they have been as fully and rapidly developed as market conditions permitted while the inhabitants have been left out, being either unable or unwilling or both to participate fully in the process.[6]

Development of the human resources on macro and micro level can help resolving the problem.

Mr. Das was certainly 'rational' and not traditional ; he was a nonconformist and charismatic. An economy of for its accelerated modernization requires such men. But the countries past culture, social attitudes inherited from the past will definitely create barriers for the free play of these entrepreneurs. By the fifties of this century it has been eloquently recognised that it is not mere capital formation that is the only causation of growth but the key point is entrepreneurship. "Entrepreneurship and innovation inherently involve a disruption of status and a potential disturbance to social relationships. In such societies entrepreneurship is thus discouraged by prevailing attitudes and prevented by established institutions, even in the face of demonstrable economic benefits that would result from innovation."[7] In order to weaken the barriers what is required is transmission and transference of the promethean spirit into galaxies of men who are prepared for the Beruf or the 'Calling'. The spread over is to be fast and deep-rooted from time to time with the continuity of the process strengthened and sustained. The middle-class should be the seed bed for such a transformation of society.

It is the 'elite group' that perceives a change with different values in life and prepares for an exchange of security with change. This sets in

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motion the dissolution of the traditional society.[8] Mr. Lowenthal says –

> An underdeveloped country is not one whose people suffer from an innate, biological lack of aptitude for industry and modern organization : nor it is one, as the opposite legend maintains, whose people have been forcibly prevented from developing these aptitudes by foreign imperialist rule. An underdeveloped country is one whose traditional society did not allow the growth of sufficiently strong independent middle-classes: the classes which in the West were the main promoters of the accumulation of capital, the creation of industrial enterprise and the growth of a spirit of rational industrial discipline.[9]

The temper and the tensility of the indigenous middle-class amidst which Mr. Das took shape of a leader, have to be considered as important. And lastly one is tempted to ask this question, "Why did Mr. Das chose those two or three enterprises in the line of cottage and small scale industries" ? If he launched that adventure just to place his public career and patriotic activity with those two glamorous units of economic undertakings then it was disastrous as it resulted in the fence eating away the harvest in the field. Otherwise one fails to understand why he chose that suicidal policy at a time when better methods for modernizing an economy were already available. Why did he not go for products of mass consumption, products with the then available sophisticated machineries ? And why did he plunge alone at a time when the joint stock idea had taken roots ? He himself had to turn the leaf at the eleventh hour and plead for conversion into public limited company ? Choice of economic goods and economic organizations for producing those goods are strong determinants of economic growth. Here is a remarkable story of the transformation of a barren hill top called Manipal in Mysore into an internationally reputed town. That is because of the vision, zeal combined with the business acumen of a banker Dr.T.M.A. Pai who 'spearheaded a fantastic drive by his farming community to ensure that future generations of the area would not be condemned to the poverty and illiteracy of the past'. According to Dr. Pai "thrift is the best remedy for all economic maladies, and poverty is the result of want of thrift". With the Pigmy Saving Scheme with 12 paise opening account and the innovation of 'bank' going to the people and make them happy.[10] None can deny that Mr. Das shed profuse tears for his countrymen. But to what extent he could succeed in wiping their tears and lifting them up from the abyss of poverty is to be doubted. Orissa is known more for the paradox of poverty amidst plenty even today.

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II

These are a few relevant events in the life of Utkal Gaurab Madhusudan Das:

1869-- Accepts Christianity at Calcutta defying his Hindu Karan father of an evanescent aristocratic house.

1873-- Marries a Christian lady, passes his M.A.

1878-- His wife dies, he gets his B.L.

1881-- Returns to Cuttack as a vakil..

1887-97--Gets into eminence as a lawyer --Puri Temple case (1 lakh of Rupees fees), Keonjhar case (1lakh of rupees fees). Joins many associations for education and cultural purposes.

1897-- Sails for London, exhibition of Orissa filigree and handicrafts. Starting of Orissa Artware and Art School.

1902-- 1 lakh of Rupees spent away on the enterprise.

1903-- Utkal Sammilani-- The most consuming idea and activity for him. The height of his glory.

1905-- Utkal Tannery as his own enterprise. Weaving with shuttle machine in his premises. At Salepur palmsugar making.

1907-- Second visit to London-- address to the East India Association at London Town Hall on *Industries in modern India.*

1909-- Utkal Tannery in financial difficulties. Conversion into public Company with him as the Managing Director and Capital of the Company at Rs.2 lakhs.

1921-- The position worsens with heavy indebtedness to Cox & Co. Bankers, Calcutta. By now he becomes a minister of Bihar & Orissa, so severs all relationship with the enterprises.

1923-- The Company again registered with Rs. 8 lakhs as Capital with Rs. 10/- a share but without response in Orissa.

1926-- Company auctioned by Cox & Co.

1927-- Declared Insolvent.

1931-- Freed from insolvency.

These are a few important observations telling of his personality :

1-- His great grandmother had sacrificed herself as 'Sati'. This he heard a number of times in his boyhood from his grandmother. And this he often recited with pride in

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important meetings. He always remembered that he was the proud scion of the sacred 'Sati'.

II -- He learnt from his mother one moral, 'Oh ! Companion, take care to guard your own prestige'. He never failed to practise it till his death under any condition.

III -- 'Money is like a handful of dust which a man might through away from his hands and still be a man'. He got one lakh of Rupees in Victoria Rupees Coins from Raja of Keonjhar as his fees, but never looked upon the amount with the acquisitiveness of a fortune-maker. He would remember his hard days of youth on the paths of struggle at Calcutta. Thrift was not known to him. Meanness was his enemy.

IV -- He believed in God and never suspected human beings. That is why he lost 3 lakhs of Rupees and changed 8 managers in the Utkal Tennary. So also he lost in the other concerns.

V-- He adored his mother, grandmother, great grandmother, his village where he was born and the motherland Orissa. His primary aim was to make the world know Orissa.

VI-- He was obstinate and short-tempered as well as intelligent and large hearted. Magnanimity in distress and munificance in affluence were in his blood.

VII-- He very often said, 'I am a restless talker not pinned down to concentrated writing. And I have lived too long, but too fruitless'.[11]

The picture of an entrepreneur given by the classical economist Jean-Baptist Say is like this :

> He is the economic agent who unites all means of production — the labour of one, the capital or the land of others — and who finds in the value of the products which result form their employment the reconstitution of the entire capital that he utilizes and the value of wages, the interest and the rent which he pays as well as the profit belonging to himself.

And his special qualities are –

> ....judgement, perseverance and a knowledge of the world as well as of business. He is called upon to estimate, with tolerable accuracy the importance of the specific product, the probable

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> amount of the demand and the means of its production..... he must possess the art of superintendence and administration. In the course of such complex operation there are an abundance of obstacles to be surmounted, of anxieties to be repressed, of misfortunes to be repaired and of expedients to be devised.[12]

Apparently Mr. Das falls short of this blueprint of an entrepreneur but a closer examination of his personality will reveal new shades taking him closer to the hero.

Not only Say, but since the times of St. Augustine of Florence many economists like Cantillon, Smith, Marshall, Mill and others had recognized the role of the entrepreneur through different designations like master, merchant, manager, superintendent, controller etc.[13] It was left to Joseph A. Schumpeter to adumbrate that what the prince of Denmark is to the play of Hamlet, the entrepreneur is that to economic growth ; he has become thus the central figure and indispensable entity in the dramas of socio-economic change.[14] Entrepreneurship and newness go together : new product, new market, new method, new raw material or new organization . There is innovation. Innovation is:

> ...any thought, behaviour or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms. Strictly speaking an innovation is an idea or a constellation of ideas but some innovations by their nature must remain mental organizations only, whereas others may be given overt and tangible expressions. Innovation is therefore a comprehensive term covering all kinds of mental constructs, whether they can be given sensible representation or not... All innovations are qualitative departures from habitual patterns irrespective of qualitative changes".[15]

And "to act with confidence beyond the range of familiar beacons and to overcome that resistance requires aptitudes that are present in only a small fraction of the population". The entrepreneur does not act only for profit he has the "will to found a kingdom, to conquer, to fight-- not for the fruits of success but of success itself -- the joy of creating, getting, things done or simply of exercising one's energy and ingenuity."[16] It is the "play impulse" against the background of uncertainty and the desire to discover.[17] One may, but he need not be the inventor of goods or processes, the investor of capital; it is not the ownership that counts but it is the urge for leadership that makes one an entrepreneur. 'the drive (or instinct) to creative activity is generic."[18]

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One may not be only an entrepreneur for all the time, the entrepreneural function may be going along with other functions also. Now we find entrepreneural functions are executed by teams of men, and even the state has entered into the field of innovation and execution. Corporate research has become the order of the day.[19] Research and development section is a common feature of any company, consuming a sizable amount of finance because of the growing impact of science and technology on society. Professional managers, who are trained, retrained from time to time by specialized institutions, initiate and imitate new functions in their organizations. Whether it is intuition or inheritance, acquirement or inculcation, alone or along with others, I think, when the spark of novelty bursts into splendorous flame to illumine the social environment with economic benefits, then the emergence of the entrepreneur is ensconced. But for entrepreneurship to continue the climate of beneficance should consist of the favouring environment, the prevalence of an adventurous spirit around, potent incentives and proportionately adequate rewards and provision for successors and their training.[20]

From all that has been said it is very difficult to deny the honour that is due to Mr. Das as an entrepreneur. His 'industries' failed not only because he fathered those but because of many other reasons. And he paid a heavy penalty for which the Oriyas should not be excused. But he was a leader par excellence, he was an ardent entrepreneur who blurred his vision by sacrificing profit for patriotism and conservatism or conscience.

The failure of the Utkal Tannery looms large before us when we consider the entrepreneurship of Mr. Das. Nobody can deny that the founder as an individual was responsible because of his multifarious activities, his lack of supervision, his trust in all subordinates and above all his desire to hold up the banner of Orissa and her products rather than profit-grabbing. He used to set fire to thousands of pairs of shoes if he found defects in one or two. He harped on perfection of the product and reputation of the Orissa's craftmanship. In 1922 Mr. Scotland of Whiteway Ladle, the famous Department Stores at Calcutta offered 50,000/- in cash and assured all other facilities to the Tennery in lieu of his company's manufacturing seal on the Tannery's products. Mr. Das rejected the proposal and lost an abundant source of economic benefit. This is what he felt — 'I may be a pauper now because of the Tannery, but I can not sell away the fame of my nation. Fifty years after if the history of Orissa is

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written, my people will abhore me and give the verdict that Madhusudan sold away himself to the English only for money'. But had the agreement fruitified the course of the Tannery should have been a profitable one. Secondly there is another side of the problem. We cannot consider Mr. Das as an individual entity but we should judge him as a part of a system-- a complex whole then prevailing in Orissa. The system formed out of an interconnected relationship between society, Mr. Das, the enterprises and the prevalent ideas and ideals. On 30.7.1924 Mr. Das wrote a letter to *The Samaj* which was also supported by Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das on 2.8.1924 appealing to help the converted Joint Stock Company of the Utkal Tannery. "I know there are men to spend away lakhs on litigation. I know there are 30 Oriyas who can subscribe in 8 days only Rs.8,000/- each...." etc. But nobody came forward. Had the shares been subscribed to and the limited company came into reality again the course of industrialisation in Orissa might have taken a different turn. Rather men were there to oppose, because of personal reasons or because of the conflict between the followers of the Congress and the Utkal Sammilani of which Mr. Das was the foremost leader.

Why did he take up handicrafts like filigree and hide business ? It was again his love for his country's art, craftmanship and poor artisans. The popular feeling of any Indian, that why should raw hide be exported and finished products be imported, worked in his mind. The Swadeshi movement since 1905 in Bengal changed the outlook of the men there. And as I have referred, in 1925 Dr. Pai became the spearhead of his people in Manipal but Mr. Das was to meet a different end. His ideas and his dreams and his sacrifices were not to be underrated as an individual, but those were to be discounted, rectified and reoriented as a part of a system that was in operation. He was even suspected as the head of a gang robbing people of gold and silver so as to utilise as raw material in his Orissa Artware enterprises.

The criteria of success of an enterprise are: (a) maximization of profits, (b) rate of expansion, (c) actualisation of objectivities of the entrepreneurs and (d) social and financial cost to all concerned in the community. This is very pertinent to us. According to Belshaw:

> In bringing facts to bear on this criterion, it is necessary to place the activity of the entrepreneur in extremely wide and full cultural and institutional framework, in order that credit and debit may be assigned in the 'ledger' of social accounting. It is also necessary

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> to bear in mind that this aspect of social economics can not be described by means of quantification alone, but it is quite necessary to take into consider many other factors of a qualitative kind. There is no adequate arithmetical answer to the question : how successful from the point of view of society, is an entrereneur? [21]

How then can the entrepreneurial personalty of Mr. Das can be explained ? Inheritance, ballads of childhood, learning during adolescence, health, dynamic interaction with the environment, impact of the social environment have all their contributions. But the answer can only be complete if we view the whole game as 'Role' playing. That is the linking of the society and the individual in a particular situation : society as the receptacle of patterned expectations for the individual to fulfill and the individual as an organization of personality with respect to differentiated functions or positions in a social group. Thus by "viewing individual situations in terms of plurality of roles and plurality of sanctions, we are able to give systematic context to the problems of variation in role performance by the entrepreneurs, their success and their innovations."[22] Mr. Das was a national leader, a great political worker for the unification of the State, a social reformer, an educationist, a legislator, a leading advocate, an intellectual and an explorer of industrial organizations. Such a grandiose combination of 'Roles' he played to pull up by strings the motherland in all directions should make one aware the high degree of dedication he made ; nonetheless he ever remains the 'Schumpeterian' entrepreneur. He destroyed the cake of custom, he defeated the spirit of traditionalism, he plunged into the unknown and placed first in the land new industrial organization, new method of production, new avenues for marketing and new directions in thinking in economic fields. "The carrying out of new combinations we call 'enterprise' ; the individuals whose function is to carry them out we call 'entrepreneurs'. The ordinary characterisation of the entrepreneur type by such expressions as 'initiative', 'authority' or 'farsight' points entirely in our direction'.[23]

III

Let us finally estimate the extent to which this entrepreneur succeeded as a prime mover of a modern economy in his mother land i.e., at the macro-level. It was very unfortunate that a golden chance was allowed to slip away in this regard. He identified more with political and

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social movements than with the economic regeneration of the country. This was a subsidiary role he played in a circumscribed way nonetheless as an entrepreneur. Had he made this role the primary and other roles secondary, he would have changed the course of history of the State. Roughly speaking from 1887 to 1921 virtually he was holding the destiny of the land, he was looked upon as the sole leader. Stupendous economic changes were taking place in India with the factory system in its feet with cotton and jute mills in operation and even Iron and Steel production.[24] He was in Bengal – Calcutta, Serampore and other places he saw from 1866 to 1881 – where he saw his own Oriya labourers in pitiable condition. In 1905 he started his Tannery whereas in 1907 Tata Iron & Steel Company was started to exploit enormous iron mines in Orissa's Mayurbhanj whose Maharaja was at his back and call by 1905. Along with the idea of Utkal Sammilani in 1903 , had he worked for a number of Joint Stock Concern for setting up large scale industries, with the help of those patrons of the Sammilani, economic regeneration would have become inevitable. There would have been no paucity of funds and enthusiasm for the utilization of the natural resources and development of human resources of Orissa. In 1868 Fakir Mohan Senapathy concieved of the P.M. Senapathy & Co., printing press with a Rs.5/- share each for the purpose at developing Oriya literature which became a reality at Balasore.[25] Secondly he focussed his attention on producing goods not to be consumed by the mass-- artware, shoes from skins of reptiles, crocodiles and other queer animals are not products to be consumed by the mass. But the need for economic acceleration is to produce goods on a mass scale to meet the mass demand.[26] In 1905 he got a shuttle machine to his handloom sector but he could have expanded the idea of starting cotton mills or jute mills or iron and steel or some such industrial organizations like paper for utilizing the raw materials of the State. What Mr. K.M.Panikar had said elsewhere may be relevent here: .

> ...the desire to a return to a pure, Indian way of life based on 'Tapovans', village self-sufficiency and handicraft economics based on the assumption that a life so ordered will be in the true tradition of Spiritual India is itself meaningless as the life of new India is already based on other principles... What India today represents is the emergence of a new civilization and not merely the continuation of the old one..... The inheritance from the West is no less important in many fields.[27]

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This was what happening in Orissa also in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. In Orissa, there was no change and newness in the mode of production, no new dimension of social relationship and no emergence of new men and new classes. Her history was as old and sterile as that of the eighteenth century. Mr. Das spent away his time, energy and enthusiasm on the unification of Oriya speaking tracts through the Utkal Sammilani. But nationalism without economic nourishment and material strength of the people will be flabby and weak. Another intellectual orator and stalwart of Orissa, Biswanath Kar once wrote that the mere welding of the Oriya speaking areas will not help much for the rise of the nation. The vital requirement would be to rouse the life force and the vision requiring new thinking and great perseverence.[28] Steps for the development of capitalist enterprise in large number throughout the State with the help of the affluent along with the urge for unification would have been the best solution to aim.

In Western Europe industrialization created three new classes of people — industrial capitalists, new middle-class of white collar workers consisting of professional people and intellectuals and industrial workers replacing the three old classes — aristocracy, old middle-class consisting of artisans and traders, and peasantry — with new awareness, mobility and communications.[29] Thus a well planned and effective way of industrialization of Orissa and modernisation of her economy would have delivered a new nation altogether under the leadership of the sprawling intellectuals and territorial unification would have actualized in no time. More intellectuals in the backward region means more quick is the social change and the more imminent is the advancement to the desired goal.[30] Teachers, lawyers, engineers, white collar workers, managers, doctors and political educators — all would have increased in large numbers to increase the depth and breadth of culture and outlook for science, technology, industry and standard of mode of living. In brief a renaissance mixing the humane and materialistic aspects would have been generated. It was being experienced during the same time in Bengal, because of intellectual fermentation on the one hand by men like Raja Rammohan Ray, Derozio and their followers, and on other hand the trade, commerce and industry by the foreign investors and their indigenous associates.[31] Orissa continued for a long period therefore with a 'Mass society' or atomized society. Mass society is not to be identified as modern society. It is not to be confounded with a particular class, the masses are not to be

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confused with the working class nor mass movements to be identified with social movements based on the working class. It implies that "under certain conditions any or all classes may give rise to masses, in the sense of large numbers of people who are not integrated into any broad social groupings or classes."[32] Mr. Das dominated over such a social structure for a long period. He endured such a situation, perhaps because of his ego-centric nature. True even in the non-economic fields he had to face a lot of difficulties because again of the domination of 'ego'. "The ego-oriented approach hinders the ability to bring and hold together an able staff, to delegate authority to inspire loyality to handle successfully relations with labour and public and a host of managerial talents."[33] Entrepreneurs are economic decision-makers and industrial entrepreneurs must look for ahead into future with the time horizon high.[34] Mr. Das because of his multi-dimensional behaviour,[35] advancing age, preoccupation in multiple 'roles' and the particularistic temperament with the mental make up of a lawyer not waiting long for decisions against the background of the then prevailing value system could not be adequately up for the arduous task of engineering the Industrial Revolution in the State : nonetheless he had abiding faith in it. He dedicated himself to furrow and fertilize a frozen society to facilitate the seeds of awareness for industrial civilization to grow. According to Frankel:

> One of the fundamental prerequisites of the process of civilization, is a certain state of awareness suited to the environment and passing circumstances in which men and society find themselves. It is an aptitude and not onlya matter of social will ; it rests on habit patterns of thought, perception and action ; it involves the ability to take account of an ever widening circle of needs, of feeling and experiencing the relations and interdependence of the needs of the self and the needs of others.[36]

Mc Clelland propounds the theory that the greater the mental virus of *n* Ach (need for achievement) in the nation, the quicker and greater will be the economic growth,[37] and countries where stories told to children have a high achievement content show a higher rate of progress ; and sometimes *n* Ach levels are clearly the result of local history. If we accept this view then we have to absolve Mr. Das from his responsibility of not being fully adequate for industrial entrepreneurship. He as a child learnt how his great grandmother immolated as a Sati, this his grandmother in a dramatic way as aften as possible described; his mother spared no

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pains to inculcate the ideal "Alo Sahki ! Apana Mahata Apey Rakhi" i.e. "Oh Companion, take steps to guard your prestige" and how he should love his own place. Never he heard stories or ballads relating to achieve something : but he always saw the imagery of fire and a lady sacrificing for a so-called sacred cause. These very ideas became a part of his life, he got never tired of repeating these scenes and words to audiences and it was very sacred for him to jump into the fire of love for the modern country. He was very proud of the family blood in him. So also his mother's lesson he kept in mind and acted upon it till death. He preferred death to bending low. Even after all was gone he preferred to earn his pittance at the bar and it is said he sent on paying rent to his adopted daughter for staying in the house which was bid in auction in her name after his insolvency. Thirdly, the struggle he had with poverty, uncertainty and unrecognisability during his stay at Calcutta (1866-1881) was a sore in memory. And his lonely life after the death of his wife and scoffing of others at his conversion into Christianity made him crave for more gregariousness, more vocal expressions, more pity for others who even went astray.

Society in Orissa was also in a flux. The result of the Sunset laws, and British authoritarian rule had made the people benumbed with the 'Bhadroloks' and 'Babus' more from beyond Orissa. A fragmented and subdivided land with great doubts about her own stability was in dire need of a Captain to consolidate and coordinate their needs as political men. And that is the twilight of history when Mr. Das arrived. He was bound therefore to give lions share of his dedication to this aspect of the country and rest to other interests. The influence of Vidyasagar, Bipin Pal, Surendranath Banerjee and a host of other leaders was more of political nature including that of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee whom he tutored in his early days. Mr. Das, naturally therefore, could not think of business, enterprise, profit and mechanization and industrialisation consummating in economic resurrection. In this context we may quote Friedman:

> Economic growth in a particular country is not the result of certain actions, but a process of interactions in which cause and effect are intermingled with antecedents that reach immeasurably far into the past and which emerge to a head through a combination of unique and favourable occurrence. In that it is a historical process in the perspective: economic growth appears as the remaking of society.[38]

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Moreover, question arises regarding Mr. Das's nature of innovation — whether it is 'Subjective innovation'[39] or 'Schumpeterian innovation'. No doubt Mr. Das was innovative but elusive and enigmatic. He was a social deviant and a pathfinder. In the thirty years bridging the nineteenth century and the twentieth century he himself did not become dynamo for industrialisation but laid the foundations for it and left a rich legacy to the successors. As A.N.Whitehead said —

> The behaviour of the community is largely dominated by the business mind. A great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their functions. Low thoughts mean low behaviour, and after a brief orgy of exploitation, low behaviour means a descending standard of life. The general greatness of the community qualitatively as well as quantitavely is the first condition for steady prosperity — byoyant, self-sustained and commanding credit...[40]

The last words of the epitaph on his tomb read :

> "I found in Him a resting place
> And He has made me glad".

But the tributes befitting a leader in economic and social arena can as well be written in letters of gold :

> " To set the cause above renown,
> To love the game beyond the prize,
> To count the life of battle good,
> And dear the land that gave you birth,
> And dearer yet the brotherhood
> That binds the brave of all the earth"

(Adapted from 'Clifton Chapel' of Captain —Francis Newbold, in "Poems New and Old".)

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VIII

MADHUSUDAN AND THE GROWTH OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN ORISSA

A.K.MISHRA

Down the centuries India has been a land of unity in diversity. And it is more true in case of Orissa, a daughter province of India than elsewhere, who has become "through ages an extremely interesting melting pot of races, languages and cultures and may be regarded as an excellent example of national integration." But if we look back to the conditions through which this land of rich legacy had to pass through, during the colonial rule, since her occupation in the year 1803, very naturally severings run through our spines. A fertile age-old and peaceful land was being systematically sacrificed at the altar of the Colonial State only to satisfy quench the hunger of a handful of bureaucrats whose whole motto was 'Dividend-first and last'.

At this critical juncture of a dying nationality, Madhusudan arrived in the socio-politico-economic scene of Orissa, as a lavish response of nature to the exacting requirements of the land. He came as messiah for the thousands of his countrymen who where rotting in abject poverty, hunger and humiliation. Soon he was seen leading an unarmed struggle against an armed power, by and by, becoming the living symbol of a new nationalism.

In fact, Madhusudan belonged to the first generation of Indian nationalist leadership, that appeared during the start of the nationalist struggle in India. Like Ranade, Naoraji, R.C.Dutt and may others, his conceptions on the burning economic topics of the day were as clear as the sky. Born in 1848 to a middle class family, Madhusudan become a successful lawyer but he dedicated his entire life and wealth to the great cause of upliftunent of the teeming millions of his countrymen, who till recent times cherish him as "The Grand Old Man of Orissa". His greatest contribution came in his economic analysis of British rule, whose constant critic he remained till the last breath of his life. He showed it to a success, the immense poverty and backwardness of India in general and Orissa in particular were not something inherent in local conditions but were caused by colonial rule which was draining the land of its wealth and capital. All his life Madhusudan kept in touch with youth and continuously developed his thoughts and politics in a more radical direction; so to say, he become

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the first Oriya nationalist leader whose thoughts and ideas were based on a scientific analysis of the economic maladies from which Orissa was suffering greatly at that period of her history.

Orissa, since remote past, is famous for its gold and silver works of gossamer delicay. But owing to the deliberate economic policies long maintained by the Colonial State and the consequent inroad of machines into cottage industries, these fine native artistic crafts of Orissa were nearing a decaying stage, and here came Madhusudan to save this valuable pride of Orissa from utter ruin. Soon he took grasp of the situation and set up a large factory inside the premises of his residence in Cuttack for reviving and improving these fine art-wares. Established in 1897, with a positive touch to native products, this factory soon attracted high attention and was known to one and all as the "Orissa Art-Wares". While the chief motive of Madhusudan behind this project remind the glorification of the artistic crafts of Orissa, he also had a desire to improve the status of the workers of this factory, by the by. When Sir John Woodburn, the then Governor of Bengal visited the factory in 1902, Madhusudan called upon the British Government to encourage this industry by giving lumpsum grants and offers of prizes to the needy workers of this factory; so that they could get a chance to improve their work and livelihood as well. In turn, the Governor expressed his surprise by observing such fine works in Orissa and thanked the workers of "Orissa Art-Wares". To draw world-wide attention Madhusudan had also made an exhibition of these artistic works in London in his tour abroad. More so he was receiving many letters daily, addressed to him by British and Indian dignitaries, in great appreciation of those fine works of Orissan art. Sir William Wedderburn, one-time British M.P. and President, Indian National Congress, wrote thus: "I never saw a more artistic piece of filigree work." Likewise, two leading nationalist newspapers e.g., "The Statesman" and "the Friend of India" were all in praise and appreciation of this tiny yet noble attempt of Madhusudan : "The specimens of Orissan art that were shown to us in silver and gold ivory.... are in every way excellent. Graceful and original in design they reflect the most credit." Mr. Das, on more than one count, waxed eloquent over the possibilities of the delicate arts which had been in vogue from time immemorial, but for want of strong support were almost dead or languishing. He organised the workshop on modern lines and that too, for the first time in Orissa where nearly hundreds of persons were being engaged in the craft, especially the delicate gold and silver

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filigree for which Cuttack was famous at one time. Here he spent quite a fortune out of his own lean purse without least consideration of his self, solely for the resuscitation of the nearly lost glories of a decaying nationality.

Being the pioneer of the new-industrial movement in Orissa, Madhusudan could well observe how huge quantities of raw hides were being exported from India and that of Orissa, only to be sent back as finished products to be sold in this country in a skyrocketing price. Thus, in order to make his homeland self-dependent and to see his countrymen economically sound, he founded a factory on 40 (forty) acres of land near Cuttack Railway Station in the district of Cuttack in 1905, known as ' The Utkal Tannery', a noble enterprise and a great venture indeed. With the help of modern mechanical appliances he made use of the lizard and crocodile skins to manufacture lovely leather products and that too for the first time in India. As such this tannery became unique in its kind and its products excelled in qualities than those of other countries. Soon it also captured the American and European markets and even the durability of these products commended the use of boots made in this factory to the soldiers during the First World War. In achieving all these success, Madhusudan had to combine efficiency with charity. He never neglected the workers of this factory who toiled hard to make this venture a success. Instead, the workers were well treated and many of them were criminals with records of previous convictions, whom Madhusudan was sincerely trying to reform. His sacrifices and efforts in the domains of this industry were Herculean. He raised it to the pinnacle of efficiency though financial disasters broke the back of this tannery within three decades of its start. Still then it is to the great credit of Madhusudan that he had given a great impetus to the people of Orissa for development of such ideal industries. The Government of Bihar and Orissa in its report of 1921 quotes : "The Utkal Tannery is the pioneer of modern tanning and leather goods manufacture in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and has incurred considerable expense in early experiments in training experts and labour . . ."

Thus Madhusudan went far ahead in reviving the economic prosperity of Orissa which had been ruined due to the high-handed policies of the British Colonial rule. But this was not all. Two years before the call for swadeshi movement was given, it was Madhusudan, who had come out to organize an association to develop indigenous industries in Orissa,

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a division in the then Bengal Presidency. The chief objectives of this association were : (a) the revival of the dead and the improvement of the dying industries of Orissa ; (b) the utilization of the national resources of Orissa either as raw materials or as industrial products ; (c) the expansion of raw materials or industrial products of Orissa ; (d) replacement of imported goods by goods of local manufacture without appreciable loss to the consumer, and (e) the adoption of measures for discovering the natural resources of Orissa. Such were the radical measures Madhusudan thought to be implemented in Orissa. That is why he has been rightly named as "the pioneer in the field of industry" in Orissa.

Like Gandhiji, Madhusudan had also full knowledge and understanding of the vital role of the Charkha in the national movement in achieving economic self-sufficiency. In and outside the Utkal Sammilani platform, he preached to the masses of Orissa, again and again, to revive and start the 'Charkha Movement' in Orissa. It drew so much attention within so little a time, that even the Mahatma wrote to Madhusudan in one of his letters thus : ". . . you will, of course, teach me how to spread the message of the spinning wheel in Utkal. Though the Congress has spent money like water there, it has made little headway. . ." It may be mentioned here that Madhusudan was not a man of words alone. He practised what he preached. Always, he attended the conferences of Utkal Sammilani wearing hand-spun, hand-woven, and hand-made dhoti, coat and chaddar. Gandhiji's khaddar only became a political watchword in India much later.

Though, the Utkal Sammilani was founded in 1903 with the sole objective i.e. the attainment of a separate statehood for Orissa yet, under the dynamic leadership of its inspiring founder, Madhusudan, it came to bear a deep and abiding concern for the social, cultural and economic improvement of the masses and peasantry in Orissa : which acted, above everything else, as a chief motivating force behind all its deliberations and discussions. In specifying and reiterating the meaning and mission of the Sammilani, Madhusudan wrote as follows in the columns of *The Oriya* in its issue of 10th April, 1918 : "Unless the poorest and by far the largest portion of the population improve in their financial condition, it is idle to talk of Oriya's national advancement". More than this in all his speeches and addresses he repeated, over and over again, the great cause of the Oriya peasantry. Wrote Pt. Nilakantha Das from his personal observation : "I still remember the great enthusiasm with which thousands

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of tenants from the district of Puri. Cuttack and Balasore responded to a simple invitation of their Madhubabu. They did not know for what they were coming and what were the huge conference was for, but they believed that Madhubabu was something for the tenants. All resolutions were put and passed unanimously when Mr. M.S. Das stood up and explained them. That was the unique hold he had on his people whose interests he was destined to guard and guide for ever a generation."

Moreover, with a view to put more emphasis on the nature and extent of peasant exploitation in Orissa, Madhusudan, always used to exhibit a painting on a canvas from the sammilani platform which was not only awe-inspiring but also had a taste of radicalism underneath it. In the painting, there stood at the bottom of the picture, a man symbolizing an Oriya peasant, digging the field with the help of a spade. A stream was seen coming out of the hole dug by the man. Sheaves of paddy were to be seen floating on the surface of the stream, which ran into a reservoir, on the top of which, a man stood keeping a close and constant watch over all these. Words were writ large on that spot "petty trader and moneylender." Soon after the stream came out of the reservoir, the floatage got changed. It was all money, no longer paddy. Once again, all these went to a second reservoir, which symbolized the zamindar's kutchery. After coming out of this second reservoir, once again the floatage of the stream became full with currency notes and the stream deposited all these into a third reservoir, on the top which was placed a Crown, symbolizing the British monarchy, with the Union Jack unfurled by its side.

Moreover, in his capacity of an elected member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Madhusudan while on his visit to London in 1897, got published a pamphlet / monograph *A Brief Account of Orissa Under British Administration.* In it, he had vividly analysed the pros and cons of British administration in Orissa and had hold the Colonial State chiefly responsible for the socio-ecomomic backwardness of the people of Orissa. As a clever statesman, he circulated it widely in the administrative and political circles and attracted quite a lot of attention by dint of its sound analysis and convincing arguments. In the preface to this article, he had called upon the Colonial State 'to make amends for the wrong done to Orissa' before time lapsed out of hand.

By large, his was also the most strident voice, by far raised for the abolition of the entire system of zamindari in Orissa as a whole. According to Madhusudan, it was totally alien to the tradition of India. In a long but

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well-written memorandum submitted to Sir William Wedderburn, the then Lt.Governor of Bengal. Madhusudan while attempting an analysis of the evolution of the zamindari system as was prevalent in the then Orissa, endeavoured his test to hammer this point home, by emphasizing the fact that it was nothing but an innovation of the Moghul rule in India. More and more, he impressed upon the point that down the ages : land had belonged to the actual tillers of the soil, who exercised inalienable ownership right over the land they tilled and cultivated, so long, as they continued to pay the rent. Citing the ancient Smritis, he observed that, "as the hunter's claim was irrefutable in the game he killed, so the right of the peasant was inalienable on the land he tilled and the crops he raised....."

Most significantly enough, Madhusudan's fight for the cause of Oriya peasants during the long proceedings of the Orissa Tenancy Bill, 1911, deserved special mention. A pillar of cloud by day and of fire in night, he attacked this proposed bill on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Council with all the vehemence he could muster. A draft tenancy bill, designed to secure the objective i.e. a self-contained agrarian code for Orissa, as it was claimed by the British Government, was brought on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Council in the year 1911. But as it was proved later on, it was only on the insistence and the interest of the Bengali landowners whose landed property was no doubt considerable in Orissa, the Bill had been mooted in the Bengal Legislative Council.

In fact, Madhusudan had come to know it much before. He challenged this Bill on more than one point as the repository and combination of all destructive powers in the earth. Moreover, he characterized the Bill as "a combination of all that is oppressive in Bombay, Madras, Chotnagpur, Bengal and East bengal". He lamented over the grim fact that Orissa has become such a land where "the worst character of all parts of India find refuge".

However, above everything else, Madhusudan held two, among all the clauses of the proposed bill viz; clause-13 and clause-14 as guilty of exploitation of tenants rights. In the matter of transfer of tenant's occupancy rights, clause-13 of the bill had put much oppressive restrictions and obstacles. It had provisions that : "every transfer, by safe, gift or exchange of any tenure or a part of tenure..... shall be invalid unless made with the consent of the landlord". On this point, Madhusudan alleged strongly that this "consent of the landlord". It was quite difficult to get as the landlord might use to convert it to an established source of

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his income by insisting upon the raiyat, a high rate of mutation fees. More so, there remained a distant possibility that a zamindar in order to utilize the power under this clause, might force the raiyat to transfer his occupancy right to zamindar's kith and kin at a throwaway price. In his view, the Orissa Tenancy Bill was intended primarily to give a legal sanction to this highly illegal practice and thus, sought to lend its seal of tacit approval on the heinous process of exploitation of the peasant class in Orissa.

More than this, the Bill in clause-14, provided for registration by the landlord of certain transfers of tenures on payment of mutation fees, which varied from rupees two in the minimum to rupees twenty-five in the maximum. Apart from this, the bill had proposed to impose many other disputable provisions on the peasantry, hitherto relatively unknown to the entire agrarian structure prevailing in Orissa. As it seemed to many, the Bill based itself on the relatively obsolete Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, which had only then been found unsuitable and impracticable by the Colonial State itself.

In this nexus, Madhusudan by collecting all his energy and will power soon, engaged his scribe in writing a bold yet appealing letter couched with strong criticisms in the Editorial columns of the leading nationalist daily, *The Statesman*. In his open letter to the editor of this English daily, he brilliantly analysed the fiscal and agrarian history of Bengal and Orissa and pointed out the inherent contradictions, which distinguished Orissa from Bengal proper. He expressed his grief that even when the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 had been found unsuitable of any further implementation by the British Government, the settlement operations (revenue) was being conducted by the norms of that nearly obsolete act. In this context, he was afraid of the new tenancy bill of 1911, which resembled the Act of 1885, more or less as it might disturb the agrarian relations in Orissa by throwing everything out of joint. That is why he named this proposed bill of 1911 (Orissa Tenancy Bill) as a validation bill giving legal sanction to an improper and illegal action, continued and in use, so far.

In all probability, reeling under the vehement attack and strong opposition which this Bill of 1911 encountered during its long proceedings in the Bengal Legislative Council, it was sent to a Select Committee on 17th January 1912, to make amendments wherever necessary. But as this Committee was packed to the full by members of

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big landed houses and sympathisers of the Colonial State, the Bill emerged out of this Committee with slight or no change at all, inflicting a crushing blow to the hopes and aspirations long entertained by Oriya peasantry. In a note of dissent to this report of the Select Committee, Madhusudan pronounced that this Bill was nothing but the result of "an ignorance of social forces and influences which control agrarian relations of Orissa and utter disregard of local opinion both official and non-official as to its applicability in Orissa, in the eightees of the last century."

Notwithstanding, the consistent opposition of Madhusudan, the Bill was rushed through the Bengal Council in a great hurry most probably, as evidence at hand suggests, under the direct pressure and manipulation of the big landlords of Bengal, who possessed vast amount of landed estates in Orissa. Our view in this regard is fully substantiated from the passage quoted below from the autobiography of the then Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge :

> Now in four days time, Orissa was to be separated from Bengal and embodied in the new Province of Bihar and it was fairly evident that the Bill had been rushed through the Council with a view to getting it passed before the change of provincial boundaries in order to meet the interests of Bengal landowners, which I knew to be considerable.

Nevertheless, the Bill though vetoed once by the Viceroy, was brought before the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in almost the same from, where it was passed in the year 1913, bringing untold sufferings and further impoverishment for the masses of Oriya peasantry in its train. Madhusudan, as natural, was at grief over this happening yet he fought a brave fight as none else did for the great cause of the hapless peasants of Orissa, rotting in abject poverty, hunger and dishonour. He wanted in his heart of hearts to restore the rights of the peasants, which they had gradually lost during the years of the colonial rule. How far and to what extent he succeeded in his noble attempts does not matter, but the fact remains that he fought well with courage, patience and determination quite uncommon in those days, without least reservation in his heart, for the will-being and just rights of the Oriya peasant class.

By the way, as time passed on, there came a definite development in Madhusudan's throughts, regarding the peasants in Orissa. Around the year 1912, he felt that the peasant were having not a single organisation of their own, worth the name, to focus and highlight their grievances to

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be felt by others, while the zamindars and business magnets had already constituted organisations of their own in Orissa. So, in order to organize and knit together this disunited mass of hapless peasants, he formed an association, "Praja Pratinidhi Sabha" in the year 1912 in Cuttack. Soon it attracted the tenants of Orissa, as they responded to the clarion call of Madhusudan all at once and thus it became a true representative association of the teeming millions of peasants of Orissa in no time. Hundreds and thousands of peasants, agricultural labourers and field workers hired on a daily-rent-basis enrolled themselves as members of this organisation. Its first President became Madhusudan with Gopabandhu and Pt. Nilakantha as Secretaries on unanimous consent basis. However, Madhusudan along with his band of co-workers organized various mass meetings of this association in the nook and corners of Orissa e.g.: Puri, Balasore, Cuttack, etc. and endeavoured his best to instil a sense of confidence and hopefulness in them. Thus, for the first time in Orissa, Madhusudan became a charismatic leader of the peasants on a mass basis, whose interests he was destined to guard for over a generation.

Thus, taking Madhusudan's achievements i.e. , his selfless deeds into proper examination, we can well see and observe the many-faceted personality he was having. To call a spade, he remained the ideal of the people of Orissa through the span of his meritorious life. Starting from the topic of industrialization of Orissa to the protection of tenants's rights, Madhusudan appeared in full force by ranging his energies from one field of activity to the other. In this line march never did he feel tired or let down. Single handed and long before the rise of Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, he had engaged his hand in improving agriculture by his own experimental farm. His long-held theory was that unless and until a portion of agricultural population was brought into certain other industries, it was impossible to avoid famines, scarcities and pestilence which invariably follow floods and droughts almost every fifth year in Orissa. Keeping this in view, he contributed his lot in reviving the rapidly decaying industry in gold and silver, "The Orissa Art-wares." Moreover, he was the first man in the then combined and undivided province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to conceive the brilliant idea of making use of the fabulous resources of hide, skin, and tanstuffs of the country, by starting a leather manufacturing company 'The Utkal Tannery' in Orissa in modern times and that too on modern lines. More so, his memorable memorandum on the burning issue arising out of the Orissa Tenancy Bill (1911)

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controversy, is still a monumental record of the tenants case and has since remained unsurpassed on the line of its investigation, the character of its conclusions and its highly patriotic outlook. Gandhi, the Mahatma, even did not quiver a little to write in appreciation of Madhusudan : "He was a great patriot. He held most liberal views about religion. Though he professed Christianity, he had the same regard for Hinduism that he entertained for his own faith. He wore himself out in teaching the youth of this country. "Dignity of Labour...." And perhaps, this is the best epitaph that such a high-ranking personality deserved richly, to be bestowed upon by no less a person of Gandhiji's calibre — by far the best of the sons of Mother India. Orissa renowned, he melted into the history of Orissa, leaving behind a blazing trail for the posterity to follow and cherish.

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IX

MADHUSUDAN : A POET AND PROPHET OF ODIA IDENTITY

ACHARYA BHABANANDA

" OUR GUIDE WHEN ALIVE
OUR GUIDE THOUGH DEAD"

Madhusudan Das, professionally a lawyer and hero of 'Oriya nationalism' was the *only* man in British-Indian Utkal, who virtually destroyed himself to establish an 'Odia Identity'. He was a versatile genius and a product of *incipient* renaissance in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century Utkal. He proclaimed : "Our neighbours have tried to wipe us out. Have they been successful ? No one can wipe *you* out" The life-force within the Odia people can *not* be wiped out. (Das, Nabakishore-- *Utkal Gourab Madhusudan* : 1951, p. 194 --translated by me.) Further, he invited Odia people, "not to develop individuality" (Ibid : p. 194) and to "relinquish the knowledge of *varna*-superiority. "And "... I will tell you brothers -- as long as you have not got what you want, go on trying again and again." (Ibid : p. 193)

The image of the land, where he was born in a decadent feudal family, was to him, the 'image of a mother', — not different from India. If 'mother' Utkal remained as an enigma for Madhusudan , in his search for symbolic representation of the Utkaliya culture, he was committed to the syncretic tradition of Jagannath. This commitment to the 'Lord of the Universe' (Jagannath) inspired him to uncover the Dharmic tradition. Passionate about the past heritage, he could harmonise his ethical stance of a lawyer to uphold the roots and history of Utkaliyas. In a nobler spirit, gracious and dignified manner, he advocated for the renewal and revitalisation of language, culture and society — even the economic content of such a dream for Utkal.

He was not only enchanted by the development of other societies, be it Eastern or Western, but inculcated a transformational approach to the problems and issues of 'Oriyas', in the then administrative, political and cultural environment (see: *A Brief Account of Orissa Under British Administration* published in Oriya Weekly '*Utkal Deepika*' 20.11.1897) Conceptually speaking the various motivations (Cooperative Society Female Education, Leprosy Home, Filigree, Tannery etc.) which influenced Madhusudan, seems to us as 'unmanageable projects', one

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could undertake as action-agenda for futuristic design of Oriyas and Orissan people. He might have failed in some of his projects, but looking deeper into his personality, expressed in his writings and speeches and scanty record of his numerous welfare activities; one is tempted to suggest that as a leader of the Oriya people, his vision was that of a 'comprehensive whole '— a full-grown, matured personality dedicated to the blossoming of Orissa. As he himself said " ... object of life is to connect the past and the future so that the result is a *homogeneous whole*." (Italics mine) *(Utkal Gaurab Madhusudan p. 306)*. He was *the* visionary leader, who was seeking a 'continuity and renewal' of the valid history of the Orissan people. While adopting valid means (through memoranda and letters) for judging, organising and passionately advocating the cause of Orissa, he used his facile pen and speeches as reflected in poems, essays,letters and particularly his extempore utterances at Utkal Sammilani conventions. This is further recorded in this political deliberations as a legislator (See : *Madhusudan Das : The Legislator,* (Ed.) N.K. Sahu & P.K. MIshra : Pragati Utkal Sangha, Rourkela, 1980).

As indicated Madhusudan's literary output is diverse. In one of his speeches he had told :

> Gradually as the child grown and goes to the school, he learns to respect the right of other children -- his play mates. Experience teaches him that he cannot take away the toy of another child. This experience, I may say, is the dawn of altruism. When the child grows to be a young man or woman and marries, attains fatherhood or motherhood, the altruistic principle is developed in a higher degree. The man then learns to live for others. He learns to sacrifice his own comforts to secure the comforts of his family and children. So when we examine human life, we find that with the decadence of selfishness there is the proportionate development of the altruistic principle in man till the altruistic principles attains to a higher standard to be found in family life." (Dash, D.K., *Madhusudan Das : The Man and His Missions : 1998, p.211)*

All his oratorial exhuberence, letters and travel experiences lead us to comprehend the intrinsic poetic quality and literary sensibility based on this 'altruistic' philosophy. How do we evaluate his personality vis a vis his literary products ? Madhusudan's literary personality had its active involvement in his speeches at 'Utkal Sammilani' and other fora. I

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think, he had no choice than to accept the 'ideology of liberalism' (as a theory before theory) of the British Empire -- where the 'imperial sun' never set. In other words, the prevalent English style was penetrating the elitist mind and outlook. But Madhusudan was an exception. He welcomed the western tradition, but was passionate about the past glory and some of the *rites* of Oriya people. His comments on 'suttee' may be quoted as an example :

> ... if you wish to see such a picture to back to the days that will never return, the golden days of our forefathers, when chaste women died the death of Suttee...Picture to your imagination a 'Suttee' and tell me whether you do not believe that there is a thing in man which cannot be measured in any way." (Ibid : p. 209)

That may be one of the reasons, for which he learnt to respect 'Swadeshi' — the fine craftmanship in literature and artware.

To Madhusudan, each country and its people always have something unique to offer. So he suggested : 'learn anything that is good in others, never their faults." He wanted to establish a 'forum' through which he could transform his ideas. The seven poems he composed were basically for rejuvenating 'Utkal Sammilani' as such a forum. Though a 'devout christian' by faith, he was seeking an 'Oriya identity' in the crucible of pan-Indian culture. Even while visiting other countries (see his letters from London and Egypt) his emotive faculty is expressed in a lucid style -- through his letters -- a 'cry' from afar as if a 'son of the soil' is lost in the panoramic beauty and grandeur. At the same time he was confident that 'the glory and dignity of Oriya nationality will grow and develop during British rule.' (ବ୍ରିଟିଶ ରାଜ୍ୟରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଜାତିର ବଢ଼ିବ ମାନଗୌରବ) So he advised the Oriya people' not to be critical of administration and religious discourse but to boycott it.' (ଶାସନତନ୍ତ୍ରର ସମାଲୋଚନା ଓ ଧର୍ମବିଷୟକ ତର୍କାଦି ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବର୍ଜ୍ଜନ କରିବା ଉଚିତ।)

To comprehend Madhusudan's contribution to the 'nationalistic' ' (Swaraj) dream of the period (1903-1934), the main theme was to consider language (Oriya) as a legitimate socio-political activity and the 'primal power' for divine, heroic and human development in Orissa. 'Language was *the* practical consciousness' which guided Madhusudan's literary and emotive personality.

His childhood experience in Cuttack Government High School and sojourn in Calcutta confirms that he was accommodative to the 'new

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ethos' of renaissance in literature, science, society and even in spiritual matters. The basic value in Madhusudan's thought, literary pursuits and socio-political activities — both in theory and praxis , hovered around 'altruism'. The cultural (see his advocacy for female education) and literary productivity maximised the concern for 'altruism' and the various institutional projects in which he participated or experimented with, are only extension of and commitment to this ideal.

The compelling political and economic reasons influenced Madhusudan to relate literature to the lives of the majority of Oriya speaking people (see: his use of Oriya proverbs). But he felt frustrated along the march of life when he sings :

" Ma, Ma ! I did search around
But could not find the mother.
Oh Brothers ! I beckoned you so long
But did not get any reply." (Translated by me)

But this frustration is only symptomatic and of a shorter duration. In the same poem he suggests that : "If there is any longing in you to meet your mother, then embrace the soil of Utkal and let the dust of Utkal caress your face." (translation mine) Spontaneous overflow of his patriotic and nationalistic feelings, although at times pessimistic, aimed at creating a 'longing for the belongingness' and a 'rising consciousness' (Das, N.K-- *Madhusudan's Immortal Words* : 1958, p.31) of an Oriya, with cautious optimism. This 'caution' is reflected in his poems and oratorial expressions-keeping his 'altruistic' vision as the source material for 'Oriya identity'.

Writing to R.N.Bhanjadeo on 22nd April, 1910 he says :

> The human soul comes from God — from Heaven , it comes as an image of God. It has no nationalism or nationality just as rain water has no colour. But when this heavenly soul is born in this world , it grows amidst the customs, manners, ideas and the standard of civilization prevailing at the time in the country or village where the individual soul is born. Like the rain drops human beings take their colour from the country where they live. But till a man is able to think of himself denuded of all that is due to the physical and intellectual and moral influence which work for his development, he cannot contemplate on humanity. Humanity is the sea where the human souls meet without colour. Humanity cannot be conquered.
>
> Me thinks you ask me what the duty of man when he is one of a nation or race ? Has he no duty towards the country where he

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lives ? Is he to contemplate on humanity denuded of all nationality ? What would patriotism then mean ? The rivers teach what we should do? The streams run through the country. They take their colour from the soil over which they diffuse fertility and prosperity. But streams run towards the ocean. They have double duty-- duty at the time and the duty of their nature --the ultimate duty . if I may so call the latter. If the streams don't run towards the ocean they stagnate and stagnant water is the hot-bed of germs of various diseases... We must work for the well-being of our race and nation, but we must so work that the race might join in the march of humanity in which we as individuals must join whether we wish or not, for that is the law of the nature, the will of our Creator, and the design of human constitution."
(*Madhusudan Das : The Man and His Missions*, pp.259-260)

Madhusudan had a broad vision and liberal world-view which are well expressed in the above extract. But he emphasised time and again, the 'eternal values' in the civilisational process.

With a deep 'historical consciousness' and a meticulous professionalism, he was searching for an active 'brotherhood' of Oriyas', who could match his futuristic perception of 'glorified Orissa'. His faith in Christ and ecumenical attitude to the 'Dharmic tradition' found a symbiotic relationship in his poems and other prose-writings. In essence, he sought for an 'inner revival' and 'spiritual revitalisation' of Oriya people in his grand schema of outlining the shape of Orissa Province. In this respect his literary sensibility echoed the 'tribulations of the self 'of Madhusudan as a poet and prophet of Oriya identity. This honour, he received, through the pursuit of 'respect earned by merit'. (See his incomplete autobiography in '*Madhusudan's Immortal Words* p.5) His literary merit was profoundly nationalistic in establishing Oriya identity --'engrafting of the West on the East (Ibid : p. 11-12). His was a life, dedicated to the nation. In his own words :

If you give your life to nation
Nation's life is yours
Its' never got by aimless search
Carried on for years."

(*Madhusudan Das :* The *Man and His Missions*, p.189--translated from Oriya by Pareswar Mohanty)

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X

THE REVIVAL OF ORIYA NATIONAL IDENTITY AND UTKAL-GOURAB MADHUSUDAN

BIMALKRISHNA PAL

The mutual interdependence between culture and liberation had assumed great national and international importance in the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century due to the resistance of militarily weaker nations against the aggressions of colonial powers. Just in the modern warfare, the marching army is supported by an umbrella of airforce, foreign aggression wave their cultural counter-part in the form of foreign missionaries, foreign literature, language, art, culture, dress, food and manners; calculated to denationalise and demoralise the would-be conquered people, so that in the process of subjugation, the agony of subjugation would loose its teeth under the cover of consolation of greater identity, with the conqueror and his mode of life. In India, great Indian leaders of the nineteenth and twentieth century, therefore, utilised the revival of ancient Indian Culture, Philosophy, Mythology, Traditions, Costumes, Rituals, Manners and even the traditional dress of the people as a preparation for the continued political struggle against the foreign domination. Such a strategy has now received international recognition and has been reduced to fixed strategic principles.

The great South African native leader Alexia Guma in his thesis *Culture and Liberation* (1976) describes the theory of resistance against foreign colonial powers in these words :

> Essential feature of colonisation is the *destruction of a people's identity.* On a subject people, colonial domination may be imposed by way of suppressing traditional ways of living and the riding together with introduction of alien ideas and values.

Another great South African international leader Axilcan Cabral in his thesis submitted to the UNESCO in 1976 amplifies the subject as follows :

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> The exercise of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression, but the people are able to create and develop a liberation movement because it keeps its culture alive in the teeth of organized repression of cultural life, because its politics-military resources being destroyed it continues to resist culturally. People's art will reflect our struggle.

Unless this implication of the historical-cum-theoretical background is fully realised, we cannot appreciate and assess the value of the lifelong contributions of at least two of our great leaders of Oriya Movement of establishing Oriya National Identity, namely Utkal-Gourab Madhusudan and Pandit Godabaris Misra.

Due to the exigencies of the present occasions, this rather incomplete account has to be confined to the lifelong contribution of Utkal-Gourab Madhusudan, postponing for the present the implications of the great nation-building contributions of Pandit Godabaris Misra unless it is indispensably relevant for the subject matter of the present discussion.

Utkal-Gourab Madhusudan was fully alive to the dangers of his life's missions, Revival of Oriya National Identity. These dangers for past and present as it then existed, may be summarised as follows :

(a) Under the British Rule, the first calamity was the recognition of at least 26 states of Orissa, which were once a part and parcel of the Oriya Kingdom, into 26 sovereign States. In the cases of the Empress V. Keshab Mahajan and Empress V. Udit Prasad [ILR 8 Calcutta 985 (Full Bench)] it was decided that Mayurbhanj was not a part of British Orissa.

(b) Most of the border areas of Orissa were inhabited by Adivasis who were victims of conversion by Christian missionaries and they could be made to forget their ancient Oriya heritage and thus offering handicap to Oriya unification. This calamity actually happened in Assam necessitating separate States for Adivasis.

(c) Ancient native Oriya culture had not only to protect itself from the preaching of the missionaries, but from the penetrating influence of three other provincial cultures

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viz. Hindi in the North and North-West, Telugu in the South, and Bengali in the East, which had already swallowed up parts of Orissa under their respective border areas.

(d) There was no unified cultural, educational, social, political and administrative authority to safeguard or champion the cause of Orissa as a whole.

(e) Though the freedom loving Oriyas did not accept the imposed British Rule for a long time so recently imposed upon them in 1803, and the remembrance of independent Orissa was foremost in their mind, yet the failure of the Paik Revolt and other localised rebellions particularly those of Bir Surendra Sai and the rebellions in Parlakhemundi and Ghumsar and other places made it clear that freedom from the alien Rule must be fought out on all-India basis and it cannot succeed locally.

Utkal-Gourab Madhusudan was alive to all these handicaps and the centrifugal tendencies which had to be guarded against. He knew of the external weakness of the people and also of their inner strength. He abused nobody, befriend all but never forgot for a moment his main task — the establishment of the identity of the Oriya Nation with all its manifestation e.g. culture, tradition, mythology, arts and crafts, folklore including religious ceremonies. Though not frightening the opposing forces, he never forgot the great task of making Oriya the mother tongue of Adivasis of Orissa. In his editorial of *The Oriya*, in October, 1918, he recorded the fact :

> Instead of losing its vitality in any degree, the Oriya language has been adopted by the hill tribes and is now their mother tongue.

He gave a fitting reply to the Full Bench decision of the Calcutta High Court by electing Maharaja Shreeram Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj as the first President of Utkal Union Conference, declaring thereby that the people of the native states of Orissa are integral part of Orissa. He firmly and repeatedly recalled the mythology of Lord Jagannath and its impact on Oriya culture and nationality and declared : "*The foundation of temple of Jagannath was laid on the ruins of the*

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caste system. " In his lecture in Utkal Sammilani of 1908 he declared, *"Without the worship of Goddess Laxmi this nation cannot thrive."*

With the able assistance of his co-worker Gourisankar, Madhusudan helped revival of ancient Oriya literatures, Oriya Palas, Jatras and Purans and with confidence he pointed out to his adversaries in these words : *"How far this attempt to suppress Oriya literature succeed would be found by a reference to Oriya Publications during last forty years."* (Vide *The Oriya,* 1918). He revived ancient and traditional Oriya arts and crafts and ushered a movement ***Buy Orissan.*** He revived Orissan Filigree Works and in his famous lecture in the London Town Hall (1897) he supported caste system as it fosters hereditary crafts.

Utkal-Gourab summarised the whole of his movement in his own words in the editorial of *The Oriya* of October, 1918 in the following words :

> If the history of British administration of the Oriya speaking tracts comes to be written at any time by an American, his reflections on the dismemberment of a nation, the attempts to deprive a nation of pleasant associations of their mother-tongue, the attempt to dry up the spring of national consciousness, which a nation's mother-tongue is, would be a valuable exposition on the extent to which the *divide et impera* policy dominated British administration in Orissa. The persistent refusal by Government to place the Oriya speaking tracts under one administration, and thus give the people opportunities for national growth under the impelling force of a national consciousness, at a time when Britain is fighting to secure to small nations the right to shape their destiny and in the face of an admission in the Report of Constitutional Reforms that 'Linguistic or Racial Units of Government' afford additional facilities for the success of the reforms proposed, would furnish to the foreign historians materials for contrast between truths – taught and practised. There is enough historical materials to present Oriyas as a distinct race. A distinctive national consciousness is the impelling present force. It is growing everyday, both in

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> volume and intensity. In their attempt to smoother this national consciousness, the authorities are discarding the teachings of history and are ignoring the spirits of human nature. A nation may be annihilated and with it will die its national consciousness. The Oriya sees the present linked with the past. He sees a descendant of the Hindu Kings of Orissa a Supervisor over the management of the temple built and maintained by the ancient kings of Orissa. He knows that this temple is a sacred attraction to the immense population of Hindu India. Every horoscope of Orissa, every almanac in the Oriya language, uses the era of the Hindu Kings. As soon as a child is born, his nativity is cast and his horoscope is written out. In after years when the child grows up to be a man he refers to that horoscope to know the events of his future life, to know when to expect death and to know whom he ought to marry. The life of each individual in this nation is linked as it were to the life of descendant of a Hindu King of Orissa. In this fact alone the thoughtful observer will see a perennial spring of national consciousness.

It was an unfortunate circumstance for Orissa that during the time the Odonnel Committee held its enquiry in 1931-32 for fixation of boundary of Orissa, the Congress Organisation in Orissa did not take part, for its alleged All-India involvement. Utkal-Gourab was too old, though he consented to be a member of the Administrative Committee. But this void was miraculously filled up by the farsighted Pandit Godabaris Misra, who though remaining always a nationalist revolutionary as far as the struggle with the foreign imperialism is concerned, did not shirk his impending duty to see through the process of Orissa being declared as Province in 1936 and to formally achieve cultural identity of the Ex-States of Orissa with Orissa by establishing the Utkal University as early as in 1943 long before the question of merger of States and redistribution of boundaries was mooted in All-India basis in 1949 and 1955. He could not ignore the Jharkhand movement in the North and the Kosala movement in the North-East.

What would have been the fate of Oriya unification movement in the cauldron of official merger move of Native State in 1948-49 or

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in the reshuffling of provincial boundaries of 1955, unless the formation of Orissa province was declared in 1936 or the Utkal University was formed in 1943, is a matter of speculation one which need not be too optimistic or too pessimistic. The disruptive forces were not dead. They raised their head not only in 1948, when they were unsuccessful but also in 1955 when they were successful. In spite of the merger agreement with the native Orissa States on 15th December 1947 and the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, of the same year, and the Administration of Orissa States Order dated the 1st January 1948, claim was made that Kalahandi and Banra were not part of Orissa and this was negatived by a Special Bench of Orissa High Court (ILR. 1 : Cuttack, p.1). The other disruptive forces were active and Orissa lost Sareikala and Kharsuan in 1955 as the native population were made to disown Oriya as their mother-tongue. In this possible of future gloom and uncertainty it is certainly an act, of farsighted statesmanship to have it officially recognised that the rest of the Oriya native State are essentially Oriya speaking when Utkal University Act, was passed in 1943. Section 1 (A) of the Act, runs as follows :

> The territorial limits within which the powers conferred upon the University by this Act, may be exercised, shall compromise the whole of the province of Orissa and such other Oriya speaking States, herein after in this Act, referred to as affiliated States.

The process of revival of Oriya National identity was now complete and our eternal gratitude is due to its master-builders.

Before I conclude this discussion, I would be failing in my duty in not dealing with a serious objection to the reference to the mythology of Lord Jagannath and its connected history of Orissa by leaders of Oriya revivalism, on the ground that such revival of the mythology of Lord Jagannath has imposed upon the Orissan society a deep conservatism accompanied by a sense of idolatry. The missionaries were alarmed at the growing popularity of the mythology of Lord Jagannath and they carried an agitation urging upon the Government to dissociate itself from the temple management on the ground that due to growing popularity of the mythology of Lord Jagannath the prospects of conversion in Orissa has got a serious set back. But the latest

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researches on the function of mythology in recreating a nation would be the best reply to such criticism.

Professor Campbell, a retired Professor of Literature at Sarah, Lawrence College, New York, is an authority on Mythology and its functions. In his latest discussion on the subject, Professor Campbell summarises his conclusions on the functions of mythology in the following words :

(i) It is veiled explanation of truth.

(ii) Through its rites and imagery, it weakens in the individual a sense of awe and raises a gratitude and even rupture rather than fear about mystery of the Universe and man's existence within it.

(iii) The mythology also offers the man a comprehensive understandable image of the world around him roughly in accordance with the best scientific knowledge of the times.

(iv) The function of living mythology is to support the social order through rites and ceremonies.

(v) The most important function of mythology is to guide the individual, stage by stage, through the inevitable psyschological crisis of useful life.

(vi) All ages before ours believed in gods in some form or other. Heaven has not become an empty place to us, as a fair memory of things that once happened were placed in it. But our heart glows a secret unrest gnaws at the root of our being.

(vii) Whether my guiding angel is for a time named Vishnu, Jesus of Buddha, the same message is there in the multitude of myths and legends that have been preserved to us wherein we may still find guidance.

These conclusions fully support the stand of our great leaders of Oriya revivalism and in the light of the present researches we may offer our heartfelt gratitude to them in reviving and revitalising the mythology of Lord Jagannath in the process of recreating a National Consciousness in Orissa.

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XI
MADHUSUDAN AND THE RENAISSANCE OF ORISSA

RAGHUNATH DAS

It had been wiped off the map of India. No trace of the tract that the *Mahabharat* and the *Puranas* had extolled to the skies as the Land of Fine Arts. Who are the people to whose dialect Bharat in his *Natya Sastra* referred to as the Odra ? Scholars were left to wonder where the land of the valiant people was that offered bloodbath to the mighty Asoka and stripped him of the royal robes turning him a mendicant preaching peace and brotherhood to mankind. Where was the kingdom of King Kharabela who smashed Satakarni, brought the Magadhan rulers to their knees and forced the mighty army of the Greeks to beat retreat, whose empire extended from the banks of the Jamuna to that of Kavery ? Who are the people that in the medieval days sent fleets carrying merchants to Java, Borneo and Sumatra on the far east and even to distant China and on the west to Persia and Egypts spreading their culture on remote alien shores ? Where was the University of Puspagiri located that according to Huen-Tsang far excelled Nalanda ? The poetry on stones in the exquisite temples of Konark and at Puri or at Bhubaneswar could for certain not be product of the sculptural skill of an inferior race.

The Oriya-speaking tracts lay dismembered in alien Presidencies and outlying Provinces and numerous Feudatory States. Orissa had lost her identity. Her culture had been obliterated beyond recognition. Utkal's heritage was a lost chapter of history. Flood devastated her fertile fields. Famished farmers and artisans fled the land to hire themselves out to kerosine kings of Burma or to serve as slaves in the tea plantations in Assam. It was considered a fortune if one could get the job of a motia/coolie in any of the jute mills on the Hoogly or be a behera (bearer) in the bungalow of a Bengali Baboo. In spite of the numerous temples strewn all over the land, it was a godforsaken region

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where flood and famine ruled, where industry did not grow, where the lamp of education did not burn.

Such was the dismal state of affairs staring the youngman who later on came to be known as Utkal-Gourab Madhusudan. Coming from a family of ruined aristocracy he had in him the pride of cultural heritage and determination to resurrect Utkal from her grave. Right from his school days he keenly felt the indignity he had to share as one belonging to the tribe called the Ude. In Calcutta where he went to pursue higher education, things were no better for himself or for his tribe. This perhaps drove him to put on the robbes of Christianity as a shield against the onslaught of malignity he faced wherever he moved. To prove that the Oriyas were culturally as developed as their Bengali landlords, he took to teachership. The Bengali youth aspiring for an Entrance certificate had to go in for 'Madhu Uder grammar'. He established his intellectual superiority amongst the very people who wanted to spit on his tribe so much so that he was sought for to train the Royal Bengal Tiger : 'Ashutosh'. He found it impossible to serve his great end without an independent profession. He took to law and joined the bar of High Court at Fort William. In spite of brilliant prospects for building a career, he left it and came to Cuttack to revitalise Orissa from its nerve centre.

The struggle before him was identically the same as decades after Mahatma Gandhi carried on in South Africa — to win human rights and dignity from people who deny them to others. Both the leaders had to face similar situations. Madhusudan was denied a seat in the Bar Associations of Cuttack by his colleagues as he came of people who had been condemned as "cooks ad coolies"; his briefs were thrown, cut, just as bag and baggages of Mahatma Gandhi were thrown out of the railway compartment which a European occupied. In no time he far excelled, in legal acumen, the people who scoffed at him. Yet his preoccupation was not law but Resurrection and Renaissance of Utkal. He had taken to the legal profession to sustain him in his work in fields of activity that lay beyond the narrow precincts.

He organised Utkal Sammelan and brought the Oriya speaking tracts under a platform to demand a separate province for the people and recognition of Orissa as a linguistic and cultural unit. The authorities

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were forced to recognize Oriya as distinct language. His plea to save Orissa from the domination of absentee Bengali Zamindars prevailed and won for her the status of division in the province of Bihar and Orissa putting together some Oriya speaking areas. He framed a bill to give expression to the distinction Orissa's land tenure had from Bengalis and steered it through the legislature as *The Orissa Tenancy Act 1913*. He organised the people to demand for a separate High Court for Orissa and the British Government conceded a Circuit Bench comprising Judges of the Patna High Court to sit at Cuttack for the benefit of Orissa's litigants. The Ravenshaw College was upgraded to become a premier institution with facilities for education in law. Each district had to establish at least one Government School to impart Secondary Education. Under his inspiration and active co-operation an institution for female education was started at Kaligali which later on developed to be a fullfledged High English School – the present Ravenshaw Girl's School. A host of poets and writers rose under his inspiration to enrich Oriya language and literature, drawing on her ancient cultural heritage. He housed a theatre at his residence to promote the growth of Orissa's dramatic art. He set his pen to compose some patriotic poems that even now stir the soul and inspire people. He fathered Gopabandu, Subas Bose and a legion of other youngmen that had the spark of patriotism and public service in them. Orissa's economic life was in shambles. Her industries had been ruined and abandoned, her artisans neglected disorganised and were going without employment. To boost Orissa's industrial growth he found no other way than to set up with his meagre resources factories for filigree works and leather works that won instant admiration for industrial skill of Orissa's artisans. A patriot and a nationalist to the marrow, he was an ardent supporter of the Congress in its moves for home rule and independence but came out of the organisation when its leaders showed cold shoulder to the struggle of the Oriya's against repression of their economy, culture and language by people of other regions. Much like Shivaji appealing to Aurengzeb, Utkal Sammelan presented a memorial to Simon Commission to relieve the Oriyas of exploitation by people of the sister provinces by constituting the Oriya speaking tracts into a separate province. The Commission was impressed and recommended for the formation of the

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separate province. Madhusudan passed away before Orissa was on the map of India but he died not before he had secured a provincial status for Orissa in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The dreams of Madhusudan seem to have died with him. A maimed unit with vast outlying areas, still struggling to keep up their ancient culture, would never had satisfied his patriotic urge. In the absence of dedicated leadership of his character and calibre completely identifying the self with the people and their problems, Orissa had remained a limping State with hardly anything to be proud of except her poverty in the midst of plenty of resources. Madhusudan's great efforts brought Utkal to life but she lacks blood and vigour for building up a healthy life. She has been too anaemic even to evaluate the services of Madhusudan for her resurrection. There has not yet been a ***Complete Works of Madhusudan*** putting together his speeches and writings. There has been no proper biography of this great leader's life and achievements. No museum has been erected in his memory. The High Court of Orissa or the Orissa Secretariat does not have a monument to tell the people that these institutions owe their existence due to his dynamic personality and dedicated leadership. His services to Orissa were not of any lesser degree than those of Mahatma Gandhi to India. It Gandhiji directed himself to free the Indian people from British Imperialism, Madhusudan's efforts were to liberate the people of Orissa from the domination of the underdogs of the imperialists — the underdogs that while taking the trance of carrying on an anti-imperialist struggle and established a colony in this region after defiling and destroying one of the most developed cultures of the land and suppressing the growth of the people of a vast tract by denying them all economic and educational facilities, socially castrating them as underdeveloped. Their exploitation was no less oppressive and killing to the people of this land than the imperialist yoke to India. Madhusudan's methods were as non-violent as Gandhiji's. It was by convincing the enemy of the justice of the claim and appealing to their good sense. He led the oppressed people to struggle unflinchingly for their rights to live with all the dignities that a human being is entitled to. In carrying on this liberation movement, he had to encounter similar resistance that Gandhiji had to face. Yet he did not bear grudge against his neighbours

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and loved them as much as he loved his own people. Half a century of precarious existence should convince us that progress cannot he achieved unless we invoke the spirit of Renaissance with which Madhusudan worked and work with the same spirit of dedication as he did. We should realise that limping people cannot have a pride of place in the national stream. We shall have to rise and arouse the toiling masses — The Sahasrabhuja.

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XII
MADHUSUDAN DAS : THE FATHER OF ORIYA NATIONALISM

PRABODH KUMAR MISHRA

The nineteenth century was period of renaissance which not only witnessed an unprecedented awakening for cultural revival but also a search for identity in those people who had been politically dismembered in course of territorial conquest by the British. For the Oriya speaking people it was a century of suffering and seed time. The Orissa Division consisting of the coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri had formed a part of Bengal province, Sambalpur and the adjacent tracts were ruled from Nagpur by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and Ganjam was being administered as a district of the Madras province. This was an unenviable state of affairs in which Oriya language and culture had been ruthlessly suppressed, jeopardising the identity of the people, besides subjecting them to economic miseries. As minorities they had no say in the administration; devoid of leadership they had none to champion their cause or plead for redressal of their various grievances. Lack of adequate educational facilities and communication had adversely affected their moral and material progress. The vernacular press in Cuttack was set up as late as 1866 after the great famine. The Oriya speaking people were languishing under terrible socio-economic and political disadvantages created by the accidents of history.

The emergence of Madhusudan Das (1848-1934) slowly brought a material change in the situation finally culminating in the creation of a separate province for the Oriyas. Madhusudan had his College and University education in Calcutta where he stayed for about 15 years to complete M.A. and B.L. examinations and to practise law in the Alipore Court. In 1881 he returned to Cuttack and started practising at the Bar amidst stiff opposition and competition of the Bengal lawyers. It did not take him much time to establish himself as a successful lawyer,

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though besides legal practice he was associated with the Orissa Association and other elite circles to promote the cause of social welfare. He was deeply concerned at the political dismemberment of the Oriya speaking tracts and was convinced that their amalgamation under one administration alone would help to mitigate the gross injustice done to the people. In public meetings and through the *Utkal Deepika* he pleaded for uniting the Ganjam and Sambalpur tracts with the Orissa Division to ensure the safety of Oriya language and culture. He presented a Memorandum to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal during the latter's visit to Cuttack in 1885. He joined the Indian National Congress with a view to highlight the problems of the Oriya people in an all-India forum. Not that the British bureaucracy was unware of the desirability of such amalgamation : Lord Northcote, the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Cooke, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, had categorically recommended for creating a homogenous administrative unit for more effective administration, but nothing was done to implement that. On the other hand, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces resolved in 1895 to abolish Oriya as an official language in Sambalpur district substituting it by Hindi.

The language crisis in Sambalpur precipitated a popular agitation leading to mass meetings, delegations to the Chief Commissioner and the Viceroy, submission of Memorials and protests through the press. Madhusudan wrote series of articles against the impolitic nature of the government decision and urged upon the Viceroy, to revoke such orders. In a meeting with Lord Curzon in December 1900 he impressed upon the Viceroy the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of the Oriya-speaking people and the justification of giving them an identity, through amalgamation. Curzon was undoubtedly convinced. He solved the language crisis of Sambalpur by restoring Oriya as the official language. The Risley circular issued under his behest accepted the principle of linguistic affinity as a basis for creating homogenous political units in India for more efficient administration and suggested the amalgamation of scattered Oriya speaking tracts under Bengal. In 1905 Sambalpur was amalgamated with Orissa Division but Ganjam could not be separated from Madras on account of stiff opposition of the Madras Government.

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Madhusudan laid the foundation of the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack in December 1903 which served as a public forum to express grievances and to unite the Oriya people. Drawn from various comers and areas, the Oriya speaking delegates met once a year under the leadership of a group of moderates like Madhusudan Das, Rajas of Kanika, Mayurbhanj, Parlakhemendi and Khalikote to mobilise public opinion in promoting education, agriculture, industries and unity. Madhusudan inspired the delegates with examples of history, culture and literature and imbibed in them a sense of nationalism and pride. We went round scattered tracts carefully choosing venue for the annual conferences so that the message of national unity would reach the interiors of Parlakhemendi, Ganjam and Singhbhum. He edited the newspaper *The Oriya* as the mouth piece of the Utkal Union Conference. He encouraged the craftsmen of Orissa to produce best filigree works and clothes. The Utkal Tannery was established to provide employment apart from utilising indigenous raw materials and earning high reputation for his people. He sponsored brilliant young Oriya students to go abroad for technical education. As a member of the legislative councils of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Imperial council he pleaded before the Government to accept the legitimate demands of the Oriya-speaking people. He visited England twice to convince the British parliamentarians the logic and justification for his demands.

Madhusudan was the undisputed leader and spokesman of his people, He personified Oriya nationalism. He raised the Oriya-speaking people from the stupor of ages, created in their minds the hope of a promised land, the dream of having a separate identity. He organised them into a nation by hammering them into a common mould through the Utkal Union Conference. Alone he played the role of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi successfully.

In 1917, his efforts bore fruit when Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms suggested the creation of a sub province for the Oriya-speaking people. After 1920, though he withdrew from political activities due to differences with the Congressites, his disciples held aloft the torch of leadership and fought undauntedly during the Phillip-Duff enquiry and the visit of the Simon Commission to Patna for a separate province. Ill health and insolvency forced Madhusudan to maintain a low profile in

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public activities during the late 1920s. But the Administrative Committee under Sir John Hubback formed in 1933 to give shape to the proposed province of Orissa included Madhusudan as one of the members. Inspite of his critical health condition Madhusudan as the Grand Old Man of Orissa gave his wise counsel and blessings to the Committee. The separate province created for the Oriya-speaking people on 1 April 1936 was the result of Madhusudan's life long struggle and sacrifice.

Madhusudan was the accredited leader of the Oriyas for almost half a century. Gopabandhu Das, Brajasundar Das, Sasibhusan Rath, Laxmidhar Mohanty and others were his disciples. A long felt void in leadership in the history of Orissa was creditably filled up by him. He was an unfailing source of inspiration for many socio-cultural functions and an enterprising patron. His spacious bungalow on the Cuttack Chandi road was the veritable centre of political life. He was indeed the Father of Oriya nationalism and maker of the new province.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Shoila Bala Das, eldest child of Ambica Charan Hazra and Prosannamayee, was born on the 25th January, 1875 at the Bhowanipur (Calcutta) house of Madhusudan. As Mr. Hazra was very close to Madhusudan, Madhusudan's wife Soudamini had accepted Mrs. Hazra as god-daughter. After the death of Prosannamayee in 1892, Shoila Bala, her sister Sudhansu Bala and their three brothers came to Cuttack and became part of Madhusudan's family. On 24th September, 1900, Shoila Bala changed her surname from Hazra to Das, honouring the wish of Madhusudan and enjoyed the position and rights of a daughter in his house till her death. She was the first girl student of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, where she attended B. A. classes, but could not clear all the papers of the said examination due to ill health. She went to England to attend a course in teachers' training in 1906. After her return in the next year, in collaboration with Madhusudan, she tried and became successful in upgrading Ravenshaw Hindu Vidyalaya from a primary school to a Girls High School, which was eventually the first of its kind in Orissa. She was its Secretary and Lady Principal. After handing over the management of Ravenshaw Girls School to Government in 1913, Shoila Bala engaged herself in other social and philanthropic activities. She became an integral part of Madhusudan's later life and played the role of a hostess in the family. Shoila Bala had functioned as an honorary magistrate in Patna and for sometime a member of the Syndicate of Patna University. After independence she was nominated to the Rajya Sabha for one term. After her return from England, she published a series of essays regarding her experience in the alien land. She had also written on women education and their problems. The credit for writing the first complete biography of Madhusudan goes to Shoila Bala, though it remained unpublished till 1998. Her authobiography ***A Look Before and After*** (1956) portrays a vivid picture of her life and personality. The book ***Madhusudan Das as Seen By Many Eyes*** compiled by her is being reprinted in this volume with necessary alterations. She breathed her last in April, 1968, at the age of 93.

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Rajendra Prasad was one among the tallest leaders of the freedom movement of India. After India got freedom, he became the President of its Constitutent Assembly and the first President of the Indian Republic (1950-62). Besides being an erudite scholar he was also an authority on the Constitution.

Acharya P. C. Roy is one of the greatest scientists India had ever produced. Not only he wrote the ***History of Hindu Chemistry*** but also he established industrial enterprises like 'Bengal Chemicals'. Among the Congress leaders of Bengal, he was most sympathetic to Oriya cause and was the President of the First Provincial Congress Committee, Orissa.

Manmath Nath Mukerjee started his career as a lawyer and became a judge of Calcutta High Court. He received Knighthood from the British Empire and was for some time the Acting Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court.

Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, a brilliant student of law and was Madhusudan's colleague in Bengal Legislative Council. He was a judge of Calcutta High Court and was for some time the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. He had also received knighthood. He was the President of the Utkal Society of Calcutta.

Khaja Mohamad Noor was a lawyer by profession. Later on he became a judge of Patna Court and also the Vice-chancellor of Patna University.

S. C. Mallick, though a member of Indian Civil Service, opted for judicial line and became the judge of Calcutta High Court. He started his career as a civil servant from Cuttack as Assistant Magistrate and Collector.

Subodh Chandra Chatterjee, a Ravenshavian, started his career as a member of the Cuttack Bar. Later on he became a judge of the Patna High Court.

M. Yunus, a Barrister at Law, was a moderate political leader of Bihar. He was a member of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of India. In 1937, before congressmen agreed to accept office, he was Premier of Bihar for some time.

Ganesh Dutta Singh, a conservative political leader of Bihar, had received knighthood from British Empire. He was a friend and critic of Madhusudan. After Madhusudan resigned from the post of Ministership, he was nominated for the same.

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Bodhram Dube, a keen student and a zealous patriot, was a lawyer of Sambalpur. He was a congress leader of repute from the Western Orissa and was Minister of Local Self-Government and Education in the cabinet of Biswanath Das.

Biswanath Das was one of the the ablest politicians and administrators of Orissa. Hailing from a landowners family of Ganjam district, he fought for the rights of the tenants and ryots. Before formation of the Orissa province, he represented Ganjam in Madras Legislative Council for three consecutive terms. He was the first Premier of Orissa from Congress Party.

Abdul Karim started his career in the Education Department and became an Inspector of Schools. Later on he became a member of Bengal Legislative Council.

Mukunda Prosad Das was a congress leader of Balasore district. He was a member Orissa Legislative Assembly and was its first elected Speaker.

B. K. Gokhale was an Indian Civil Service officer, who during his posting at Cuttack/Khurda came in contact with Madhusudan.

S. Lall, an I.C.S. Officer who came in close contact with Madhusudan while serving in different positions.

B. C. Mukherji, an I.C.S. Officer, was elevated to the rank Chief Secretary. As the Colletor of Cuttack, he took pains to organise the grand funeral of Madhusudan.

P. C. Ray Chaudhury was son of Khirod Chandra Ray Choudhury of Cuttack. K. C. Ray Chaudhury was the founder editor of *Star of Utkal* to which Madhusudan was a regualr contributor. P. C. Ray Choudhury after obtaining post-graduate and law degrees, joined Bihar and Orissa government service as a Deputy Magistrate. Later on he became the Editor of *Gazetteers of Bihar*.

Srikrishna Mahapatra, popularly known as Dewan Bahadur, was a police officer who retired as a Superintendent of Police. Later on he became the Chairman of Cuttack Municipality and a member of Central Legislative Assembly. He was an ardent supporter of British imperialism.

Bawa Kartar Singh, an Indian Education Service Officer and educationist of high order, was Professor in Science College, Patna. He was also a Principal of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

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Atul Chandra Ganguli was a Professor in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

Satish Chandra Bose was the classmate of Sri Ashutosh Mukherjee and a Barrister-at-Law. He practised at the Cuttack Bar, where he came in close contact with Madhusudan.

Satindra Narayan Roy Mahasaya was lawyer at the Cuttack Bar. When Madhusudan declared his insolvency Mr. Roy was appointed by the court as the receiver of his estates.

Paramanand Dutt, an advocate of Calcutta High Court, was the joint editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Swami Bichitrananda Das, an able lawyer, was closely associated with Madhusudan as his junior. He was also an ardent patriot and member of the Legislative Assembly.

Gopabandhu Chowdhry, a freedom fighter and patriot of high order, had made immense sacrifice for the nation. He left his government job of Deputy Magistrate and immersed with whole family in the Gandhian movement. After independence, he joined in Bhoodan Movement. He was a close relative Madhusudan.

Saraladevi Chaudhurani was a highly spirited and enterprising lady of Calcutta. She had deep and emotional attachment with revolutionaries of Bengal. In her memoir *Jibaner Jharapatra*, she has described Madhusudan's influence on her life.

Sarala Bala Mitter was a friend of Shoila Bala. She went to England along with her, being sponsored by Govt. of Bengal to have teachers' training.

Maurice G. Hallet, a British Civil Servant, was the Secretary of Home Department, Government of India. Towards the end of his career, he was the Governor of Orissa. But also he was the Secretary of the Local Self-Government of which Madhusudan was the Minister.

Hugh Macpherson, a Civil Servant, was closely associated with Madhusudan for a long time. For some time he was the officiating Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

Courtney Terrell, was in judicial service and retired as Chief Justice.

T. S. Macpherson, a civil servant who opted for judicial service, was a judge of Patna High Court. He was close to Madhusudan

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and to keep his request Madhusudan started writing his autobiography which remained incomplete.

S. B. Dhavle, a civil servant and judge of Patna High Court, was one of the members of the Bench of Circuit Court, where Janakinath Bose made moving ovation to Madhusudan after his death.

C. L. Philip, an I.C.S. officer, was the Commissioner of Orissa from 1930 to 1933. Afterwards he became the Member, Board of Ravenue, Bihar and Orissa. He was the member of the Committee appointed to ascertain the wishes of Oriyas of Madras Presidency for amalgamation.

D. E. Reuben, an I.C.S. Officer, started his career as Assistant Magistrate and Collector, Cuttack. He opted for judicial service and retired as a judge of Patna High Court.

G. E. Fawcus was in Education Department and retired as Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa.

Henry W. Nevinson, a British jornalist, came to Orissa in the winter of 1907 to collect first hand news of Orissa's flood and famine. He toured the interior parts of Orissa with Madhusudan and reported starving condition of the famine-stricken people of Orissa in *The Statesman* and other English papers. In his book ***New India*** he has described how Madhusudan was adored by Oriya people.

Aurovindo Ghose, better known as Sri Aurovindo, is one of the greatest philosopher and spiritual leader of modern India. His early career was that of a political revolutionary and educationist and he is regarded as the prophet of Indian militant nationalism.

Mahatma Gandhi, one of the greatest men of the twenteeth century, is also the father of Indian Nation.

Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the greatest leaders of Indian freedom movement, was the first Prime Minister of India.

Harekrushna Mahatab, one of the foremost leaders of Orissa Congress, was Premier/Chief Minister of Orissa. He was also a journalist and litterateur.

Nilamani Senapati, the first Oriya to qualify for Indian Civil Service, served the Government, in different capacities before and after independence. He was the Cheif Editor of *District Gazetteers* published by Orissa Government.

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R. P. Shastry, a journalist by profession, has written a number of illuminating essays on Madhusudan and Gopabandhu. He edits *Orissa Times* published from Cuttack.

Sriram Chandra Dash, an eminest scholar and teacher of Political Science, was the first Professor and Head of that Department in Utkal University. After retirement from university services, he practised law and was a Senior Advocate of Orissa High Court.

Sadananda Choudhury, was a professor of history and has retired from Utkal University. He has done commendable research on economic history of Orissa under colonial rule.

Bimalkrishna Pal, was an Adovcate of Orissa High Court. He was a scholar with deep insight, which is reflected in his essays on socio-political issues.

Surendra Nath Jena, one of the pioneers in the field of teaching of Commerce in Orissa, was a Professor in the Faculty of Commerce in Post Graduate Colleges of Orissa. He has written, both in English and Oriya, on wide-ranging subjects.

A. K. Mishra teaches History in Utkal University. He has written on economic nationalism and other related subjects.

Acharya Bhabananda, (Formerly Bhabagrahi Misra) is a Gandhian Scholar. He is a well-known literary critic of Oriya literature and a folklorist of repute. He has also written extensively on a variety of subjects, with a number books to his credit.

Raghunath Das, a marxist thinker and a poet of progressive school, was a lawyer by profession. His poems and essays are marked for their originiality and clarity.

Prabodh Kumar Mishra is a reputed scholar of Orissan history, both ancient and modern. After his retirement as Professor of History, he was the Vice-chancellor, North Orissa University. He was co-editor of ***Madhusudan Das – The Legislator*** with N.K. Sahoo.

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Pragati Utkal Sangha : *(estd. 1958)*, a premier voluntary organisation of Steel-City, Rourkela (Orissa), is known throughout the state for its socio-cultural activities. It has rendered commendable service in developing and patronising a library and public reading room. It was the first organisation to celebrate Utkal Divas (Orissa Day) and Madhusudan Jayanti (Birth Anniversary of Madhusudan Das). It has also instituted Gold Medals and has created endowments in different Universities of Orissa for propagating the ideas and ideals of Madhusudan Das. Recently, it has emerged as a publishing house by publishing a number of titles in Oriya and English for popularisation and assessment of great Oriya personalities.

Pragati Utkal Sangh is a veritable source of inspiration for Oriya speaking people and the epitome of Oriya culture.

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